

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the blade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

Spanish Sahara: UN needed

The discovery of the biggest known reserves of phosphate in the world has lately made the Spanish Sahara, an otherwise desolate desert area inhabited by perhaps 70,000 nomads, an extremely valuable piece of African real estate.

Thus, neighboring Morocco, which is presently the world's largest phosphate exporter, would like to annex the region. To this end, Morocco's King Hassan is assembling 350,000 unarmed Moroccans for a massive march into the territory tomorrow.

But Morocco's claim is disputed by Algeria, its North African neighbor and rival, which would like a strip of the territory across the sands of the Spanish Sahara to give it access to the Atlantic.

The whole situation is complicated still more by the designs of the onetime French colony of Mauritania on the south.

For its part, Spain would like to divest itself of the colony—but it has come down squarely for self-determination for the territory's 70,000 nomads. Generalissimo Francisco Franco's government indicated this week, in calling for an urgent meeting of the United Nations Security Council to deal with the

issue, that it would welcome a UN-supervised plebiscite and a UN-sponsored movement toward independence for the colony.

The Spanish proposal seems eminently fair. Supervision of such a plebiscite among the nomadic tribesmen of the region would likely be difficult. But this is preferable to the three-power rivalry of Morocco, Algeria, and Mauritania, which has dangerous implications for peace in North Africa.

We hope the UN acts swiftly on this issue—including a plea to King Hassan to back down from his plan for tomorrow's march of Moroccans into Spanish Sahara. After all, the World Court in The Hague last week ruled that Morocco's claim to sovereignty over the region has not been established.

Without UN action, however, Morocco appears determined to act unilaterally—and this could well spark a confrontation with Algeria which King Hassan and his fellow Moroccans would find difficult to handle. More importantly, without quick UN action, the world may be faced with yet another major border dispute which could mushroom into open warfare.

Watergate: a summing up

The special Watergate prosecutor's report is out. It makes fascinating reading. Much of it is devoted to a careful accounting of the investigations and prosecutions undertaken by the prosecutor's office since it was established nearly 29 months ago.

It also contains a series of recommendations which, in the view of present special prosecutor Henry S. Ruth Jr., might in the future make less likely the sort of crimes and misdemeanors which have come to be grouped under the label of Watergate.

For example the report proposes that the President should not name anyone to be Attorney General, or to occupy high Justice Department positions, who has served "in a high level position in the President's campaign." One has only to think back a few years to realize that this raises questions not only about Richard Nixon's appointment of John Mitchell to be Attorney General, but also appointments by previous presidents.

Other recommendations touch on areas such as the misuse of intelligence agencies by the White House, misuse of confidential information supplied government agencies for

political purpose, and the issue of illegal political contributions by individuals, government contractors, unions, and corporations.

Much of the report quite rightly zeroes in on former President Nixon's involvement in the whole Watergate question. Moreover, issuance of the report just as Mr. Nixon is emerging from his year-long seclusion following his resignation will likely have an effect on how Mr. Nixon is received. Mr. Ruth makes plain that his staff believed Mr. Nixon was indictable for the Watergate coverup. He adds they would have proceeded with the indictment—except for President Ford's pardon of Mr. Nixon "for all offenses" he committed or may have committed while in office.

This part of the report is illustrative of the careful legal evaluation of each and every case that came before the prosecutor's office. The pardon, Mr. Ruth states, "generated extensive discussion and legal research" by the office to examine the possibility that it was invalid, having preceded a formal indictment, or amounted to illegal interference with the special prosecutor's mandate to decide for

Just the sand, the sky, and the palm trees



himself whom to prosecute.

Eventually, Leon Jaworski, who was special prosecutor at the time, decided not to challenge the legality of the pardon on the ground that the presidential pardoning power was probably not subordinate to the prosecutor's mandate, and that to test that issue in court "would constitute a spurious proceeding."

All in all the report is a needed rendering of the special prosecutor's activities first under Archibald Cox, then Mr. Jaworski, and most recently Mr. Ruth, in "uncovering years of actual and alleged Government abuses." Mr.

Ruth, however, states his own feeling that a weariness has fallen over the nation in the wake of Watergate. That certainly is true.

But so is Mr. Ruth's conclusion that the whole Watergate incident showed the effectiveness of the legal and judicial system under which the United States is governed. "The citizens wanted to control what would happen, and they eventually did," Mr. Ruth writes in a personal note to the report. "When vigilance erupted, institutions responded. One must believe that irresponsible power, both public and private, can never overcome that will."

SALT talks and the dangers for detente

Perhaps the greatest challenge ever now confronts East-West detente. If the United States and the Soviet Union fail to reach a second agreement on SALT the whole policy of detente—already buffeted by severe strains—may suffer an irreparable setback. For the central issue around which all else revolves in Soviet-American relations is the effort to put a cap on the dangerous competition in nuclear weapons.

Time is of the essence. The schedule for a Brezhnev-Ford summit meeting this year already has slipped and there are political roadblocks ahead. The Russians are under the pressure of their Communist Party congress in February (which presumably will either sanction—or reject—the Brezhnev "peace" policy). The Americans, for their part, face the political tensions of an election year. If no SALT accord is hammered out before the end of January, the negotiations most likely would have to be put off until 1977.

This would be an unfortunate development for two reasons. One is that if there is no permanent, comprehensive agreement on offensive weapons by 1977, the U.S. might consider abrogating the ABM treaty, which limits each country's defensive arsenal of antiballistic missiles.

Secondly, in the intervening time both the Pentagon and the Soviet military would be pushing for bigger and better nuclear weaponry to defend their countries. Budgets would climb. Then, when and if the two sides

resumed negotiations they would be talking from a different base and would have to start all over again.

Such an eventuality is not in the interest of either nation, or of the world. What happens (or does not happen) in nuclear disarmament affects not only Moscow and Washington. It will one day influence the policies of communist China, as well as of that growing number of nations that have a capacity for making nuclear devices. It will hardly be possible to persuade India or Iran or Taiwan to forswear the development of atomic weapons if the superpowers themselves do not halt the arms race.

The stakes are thus high. Without SALT II, detente—the poorly named process of trying to improve East-West relations and thereby dampen global hostility—is open to further attack by conservative forces in both the Soviet Union and the United States. And worldwide nuclear disarmament becomes an even more elusive goal.

It is to be hoped that this is the general reading in both the Kremlin and the White House—and that both sides will recognize the urgency of compromise. On the face of it, both sides have legitimate concerns at this stage of the negotiations. The Russians worry about the rapid American development of the cruise missile, a pilotless aircraft that can be launched from aircraft, ships or submarines, travel up to 2,000 miles and reportedly drop within 30 feet of a target. The Americans see

dangers in the Soviets' supersonic backfire bomber which, they say, can have long-range capability if refueled in the air.

Neither the cruise missile nor the bomber figures among the arms put under limitations in the Vladivostok agreement, on the basis of which SALT II is being negotiated. Probably

Nobel challenge to the Kremlin

With the Helsinki conference still fresh in memory, the Soviet Union would invite the sharpest reaction if it stopped Andrei Sakharov from going abroad to collect his Nobel Peace Prize and from returning home again.

There is little question that the decision to award the prize to the noted Soviet nuclear physicist was a political act designed to strike at Moscow. On the face of it, the move will not be helpful to East-West relations; the Kremlin already has signaled its displeasure.

But the Norwegian committee's choice can only be applauded by all who recognize that true peace and human justice are inseparable. As the Nobel committee noted, "Sakharov has emphasized that the inviolable rights of man can serve as the only sure foundation for a genuine and long-lasting system of international cooperation."

Few individuals anywhere have done more to translate their convictions into deeds. A man of great integrity and courage, Dr. Sakharov has sacrificed a distinguished career as a scientist to wage a virtually lone

struggle for human rights and "freedom of conscience."

It was particularly fitting to honor Dr. Sakharov because the Kremlin probably calculated that, as the small Soviet dissident movement dwindled, the West no longer cared about this quiet-spoken scholar and that it could harass him and his family with impunity. Now it is reminded of the West's ongoing moral support for those valiant Soviet protesters seeking a more humane, open society.

We share Dr. Sakharov's hope that Soviet leaders will be reasonable about the Nobel award. Surely they have nothing to fear by allowing him out of the country for a spell and indeed would benefit by adopting a somewhat more tolerant approach.

This is the first sensitive test of the Helsinki declaration on human rights. The pressure on Moscow to meet it.

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New tremors from the old empires

By Joseph C. Hirsch

The New World bought by the allies' triumph over Hitler and Tojo at the end of World War II is not proving to be a tranquil one at this point in time—30 years after.

The whole Mediterranean is in a state of tension and uncertainty. Portugal is on the thin edge of civil war. Spain waits to see what comes after Francisco Franco. Just to the south a column of Moroccan approaches the border of Spanish Sahara to see whether unarmed annexation may be possible.

At the other end of the middle sea, Greeks and Turks are in a state of suspended hostility over the gnawing and unresolved problem of Cyprus. Israel and Syria man their common frontier. Lebanon is torn by civil war that might involve Israel and Syria at any moment.

Egypt's President Sadat has been in Washington to see whether he could do better for himself and his country there than he was able to do previously in Moscow. His success depended in large part on whether the Israelis who intellectually want peace with him are able emotionally to go through with it.

In Ethiopia the new government is strained to the limit by a persistent rebellion of Eritreans.

Rhodesians sit on a volcano liable to blow off at any time.

Angola approaches independence from Portugal in a state of tri-partition. Its capital, Luanda, and most of the coast line, is held by a faction supported by Moscow. The northern hinterland is held by a rival faction supported by Peking and, some reports say, by Washington. The southern hinterland is held by a third faction with a tribal rather than great-power explanation.

Among the great powers there is a new shrillness in the propaganda fire between Moscow and Peking. Its explanation could be that Peking has attained the ability to mount nuclear missiles that could reach Moscow.

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Moslem irregular returns fire of Christian militiamen from Beirut high rise

Lebanon: when the guns fall silent

By John K. Cooley

John K. Cooley is a senior editor of The Christian Science Monitor.

Although the end of Lebanon's latest civil war is not yet in sight, Lebanese, Arab, and foreign observers here are trying to assess the possible consequences.

Already the departure of thousands of foreign businessmen, embassy personnel and their families, and the fact that the American University of Beirut and other foreign and Lebanese-owned institutions are unable to function, are ending Beirut's traditional role as cosmopolitan market place and center of learning.

And now, with the escalating fighting in recent days, Lebanon's very existence as a country is in grave danger.

The Left and its allies of circumstance, the 400,000 or so Palestinian refugees in Lebanon, say they want a secular revolution. Some on the extreme Left add that it should be a Marxist one. Goal of the Left is to wrest political and economic power out of the hands of the 200 or so families—mainly Maronite Christian but including some Sunni Muslims—who have dominated the country since independence.

If the Left sees the outcome of civil war largely as social revolution, the Right is thinking in terms of political partition. Chieftains of the Right, Pierre Gemayel, the Phalangist leader whose bodyguard was killed by leftist gunmen at the Parliament building Tuesday, speak openly of a Christian mini-state in the central mountain area, with Syria likely to absorb much of the rest of the country.

Israel has clearly stated it would not permit this. All factions, especially the government, now are on watchful alert for evidence of a first move by either Syria or Israel. This would almost certainly touch off an equal or greater reaction by the other side, and might therefore spark a new Arab-Israeli war.

Muslim Premier Rashid Karami is accused by the government's main leftist political opponent, Druze sectarian leader Kamal Jumblatt, of tribalism. Mr. Jumblatt refused to join a peace committee of religious and political leaders Mr. Karami tried to form Tuesday night.

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Scotland hears pipes of independence

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

London
Is the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland about to take a first step toward its eventual dismemberment?

Prime Minister Harold Wilson emphatically says, "No." But both within his Labour Party and the opposition Conservatives, there is deep uncertainty and concern over Labour's election promise to "create elected assemblies for Scotland and Wales."

Scotland is the main problem. In the last election, the Scottish National Party, which wants complete independence for Scotland eventually, took 30 percent of the votes and won 11 of the region's 71 seats in the House of Commons. Labour is still the majority party in Scotland. But the Nationalists came second in 38 Labour constituencies, and even a small swing could easily bring them 20 more seats and make them the majority party.

The Scottish Nationalists, and to a lesser degree the Welsh nationalist party Plaid Cymru, have won increasing shares of votes in their respective regions by playing on local feelings that London is far away and neglectful of their interests.

In addition, there is a general feeling, not restricted to Britain, that central government has become too rigid and bureaucratic and

that some powers should be "devolved" to the regions so as to restore the sense of individual participation in government.

The ten leader, or states, of West Germany have had considerable powers since the Federal Republic came into being. Regional governments have been established in France and in Italy, and in both countries there is a continuing outcry for more powers to be devolved from the center to the regions.

Both the Labour and Conservative parties have to some extent tried to respond to the British electorate's desire for a greater say at the local level. But Scotland and Wales, and particularly Scotland, present specific problems.

The Welsh sense of cultural and national distinctness has been to a degree satisfied by the popularization of Welsh as a language. Economically, Wales is poor and the people know that without substantial aid from London their region could not make a go of it.

Scotland always has been distinct from England in many ways, having its own established church, the Presbyterian, its own legal system, its own schools. Scotland, like Wales, has been poor for generations. But now there is the heavy prospect of oil riches from the North Sea. There is a certain self-satisfaction in the thought that a well-to-do Scotland could cut loose from a floundering Britain.

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China admits racial conflict

By Ross H. Munro
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor
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Peking
Ethnic conflicts are causing serious problems in Sinkiang, on China's northwest frontier.

Sinkiang has received a lot of attention from the Chinese press recently because of the 20th anniversary of its founding as an autonomous region. Yet an editorial in the Peking People's Daily commemorating the anniversary called on Communist cadres to "deal resolute blows at a handful of national splittist elements and counter-revolutionaries... who throw themselves into the arms of the Soviet revisionists."

That constitutes a remarkable admission that the ethnic conflicts that broke into violence in the 1960s are continuing. There were refugee accounts during the 1960s of thousands of nomadic Uighurs and Kazakhs fleeing across the border into the Soviet Union, encouraged by Soviet broadcasts that apparently still are being beamed into the area.

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ARTS IN AUSTRALIA

Long dismissed as a cultural backwater, Australia is beginning to establish an international reputation in the arts.

Among the nation's leading creative talents staking a claim to wider recognition are its filmmakers, whose sensitive productions are helping lay to rest the image of a country where hard-drinking and brawling are the chief pastimes of its inhabitants.

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FOCUS

Life inside the laager

By Henry S. Hayward

Salisbury, Rhodesia
Steak is plentiful and cheap by Western standards, but cheese is in short supply at the moment. Fish, except the lake variety, is seldom seen these days, for this is a landlocked and sanction-beset nation, far from the sea.

In some ways, Rhodesia has wrought minor miracles to compensate for its isolation and shortages — like making its own razor blades, for example.

"The local blades do give a shave," a Salisbury man admits, "but they only last me a day or two, and my beard isn't all that tough." So whenever he goes abroad this resident buys a year's supply of foreign blades to take home. He gets several weeks of shaves from each one.

Such is Rhodesia after ten long years of its UDI (Unilateral Declaration of Independence) under Prime Minister Ian D. Smith: still swimming bravely and strongly against the international current but growing, one feels, a little tired of the prolonged effort nonetheless.

"We have marched up the hill toward a settlement with the blacks so often," a white housewife complains, "and then somehow we always march back down again."

White families moreover now face the prospect of frequent military service for their husbands, fathers, and sons. The radio crackles with messages to men in the security forces to "come home soon. We love you" from wives, daughters, and girl friends, keeping in contact and trying to help morale.

Even fathers of young children are called upon to do their stint in the services, a task that can involve three months out of a year at present. This is difficult for businessmen trying to make a living when supplies sometimes are short. It also puts an extra burden on young mothers.

But white Rhodesians seem by no means at the end of their tether. Rather, they appear almost to thrive on adversity. "We have learned not to wait until the last moment to buy what we will need," another resident points out. "Then, exasperatingly, it isn't there any more. So you buy what is in the shops and almost feel grateful for the privilege."

Although the over-all loss of white people through emigration is not large, English-speaking whites are among those departing, while the majority of those coming in are Portuguese-speaking refugees from Mozambique and Angola.

The exodus is influenced somewhat by restrictions on the value of goods Rhodesians can take with them. Those emigrating to Britain, for example can take out 5,000 Rhodesian dollars (\$8,000 U.S.). If a resident has this much on hand, he has little incentive to remain, for if he accumu-



Bowling on the green, Salisbury

lates more, he cannot take it with him if he leaves.

In the first nine months of this year, meanwhile, the cost of living index has gone up 13 points for blacks and 6.7 points for whites. Thus however difficult it may be for white Rhodesians to make ends meet with spiraling costs, it is nearly twice as hard for the overwhelming black majority.

Finally, a word about hotel space. At the end of August, Salisbury's 16 main hotels had an occupancy rate of 51 percent. September and October are reported to have shown a downturn.

One new Salisbury hotel now under construction may not use all its floors upon completion. Another, already finished, keeps some floors vacant. With building costs going up 15 to 20 percent a year in this country, the idea is to build now and fill later.

The plan seems to work, moreover. One new hotel in Umtali that kept a floor closed at first due to insufficient demand now has found the mothballed floor is needed.

Few people, Rhodesians included, would have guessed in November, 1965 that this country's precarious situation and vexing constitutional problem with its black citizens would remain unsolved a decade later. But even with no settlement in sight, Rhodesia continues to confound its prophets of doom.

Mrs. Thatcher: grooming for the top job

By Francis Renny

London
For the past few months, following her surprise victory as leader of the conservatives, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher has been getting the hang of the party machine. Now, endorsed with triumph at the Conservatives' annual conference, she is ready to start the run-up to the next election. As a first step, she is challenging Prime Minister Harold Wilson to an increasing number of duels across the floor of the Commons — a floor specially designed to keep members just over two swords' lengths apart. So far, Mr. Wilson has treated the lady with a somewhat patronizing sarcasm which Mrs. Thatcher's supporters vow he will come to regret.

The symptoms of image-building are unmistakable. Mrs. Thatcher has been photographed in cosy domestic situations designed to appeal to the working-class women's vote, which she so much needs if she is to break through Labour's industrial strongholds.

One particular operation, in which she and her husband were pictured, brushing and polishing in hand, redecorating their own country retreat may have misfired. At any rate it alienated the professional housepainters and decorators who disliked the implication that anybody could do it.

The Impression was quite certainly accidental, and yet once it had been pointed out one realizes that it connects with a deep subconscious reaction. There really is something queerly about Mrs. Thatcher, and perhaps it is her secret weapon.

There have been, and are, other women politicians in Britain, but none with quite the same imperiousness. Labour's Shirley Williams, for example, is almost "one of the

boys." An interviewer can be as direct and pressing with her as with any of her male colleagues. But with Mrs. Thatcher's blue eyes boring straight into his (another of her unnerving habits), it is a brave interviewer who would press her on something she does not want to answer.

The impeccable coiffure and costume is another regal touch. Margaret Thatcher's mother was a skilled dressmaker who "always kept herself neat and tidy — very well turned out." Her daughter has followed in mother's footsteps, and it remains to be seen whether the voter-in-the-street is more impressed by her superiority than put off by her looking so much better than the average.

Like Edward Heath before her, Mrs. Thatcher is a child of the small shopkeeping class. Her father was a Methodist lay preacher with firm convictions of right and wrong and a belief that hard work was even more important for the character it formed than for the money it made. To this day Margaret Thatcher's political philosophy embodies those standards. Another of her secrets, like so many successful politicians, is physical toughness and the need for very little sleep: so she is able to work harder than most.

The product of a stable marriage, and partner in one of her own, she is genuinely shocked by immorality. And her idea of British renewal is very much a return to the Protestant work ethic. Certainly there should be a safety net to catch those who are unfortunate enough to fall. But still more important is the existence of a ladder to climb.

Those who have interviewed Mrs. Thatcher sometimes have had the impression of interrogating a juke-box: you push the button, the record is selected, down comes the needle and the recording is played to the end. Perhaps this is inevitable with any overworked political leader. But in this case it also reveals a certain lack of originality (though again that may be inevitable). The ideas machine behind her consists of a small research foundation,

the Centre for Political Studies, and its chief inspirer, former Tory minister Sir Keith Joseph. Highly sensitive to a degree which (some believe) makes him unsuitable for the highest office, Sir Keith enunciates in mystical form many of the ideas which Margaret Thatcher then brings down to earth. The latest has been the idea that Tories should cease to cultivate the middle ground (because that has been shifted too far to the left) and seek instead the common ground, which is, by definition, almost above party. Mrs. Thatcher also shares Sir Keith's distaste for electoral reform, proportional representation and coalition government. Firm authority is what the country needs, she feels.

She is, however, interested in a Bill of Rights to guarantee individual freedoms against usurpation by the state. She believes that equality of opportunity must mean an opportunity to be unequal — to use one's talents to the full. And you will not get the best out of people unless they can keep more of the rewards of their efforts and pass it on to their families.

"I think that what really motivates you more than anything else is the chance of being able to benefit not so much yourself but your own family by your efforts," she says. And so she believes that the level of taxation on middle-management, the self-employed and the small-business man is far too high and must be brought down.

The last thing any responsible commentator would wish to do is equate Mrs. Thatcher with Governor Wallace of Alabama. But, allowing for circumstances and accents, they have a surprising amount in common in that particular area of cutting back government interference with the little man. The latest and perhaps most surprising image of our heroine was seated in conversation with the governor. Mrs. Thatcher was as photogenic as ever (yet another of her secret weapons). But whom the picture is designed to help, one is at a loss to know.

Juan Carlos: has he got what it takes?

By Richard Mowrer
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Madrid
Juan Carlos de Borbon y Borbon, who will succeed Gen. Francisco Franco as Spanish Chief of State, is an unknown quantity insofar as political judgment and stamina are concerned.

Does he possess in any degree the qualities that enabled General Franco to remain in power for 36 years: shrewdness, ruthlessness, and a sense of timing? Does he have the resilience he will need to ride out the storms and crises he will surely encounter? Or will he, under the pressure of events, relinquish his throne, as his grandfather, Alfonso XIII, did in 1931?

Juan Carlos is unique in that this will be the only monarchy restored anywhere in an age when the trend has been the other way — with sovereigns losing their jobs and thrones.

Certainly Juan Carlos will not have an easy time. He must steer a difficult course between entrenched authoritarians, determined that General Franco's regime shall be perpetuated, and a growing number of Spaniards eager for democracy.

Juan Carlos was born in Rome in 1938, when Spain was in the throes of a civil war that was to end with the defeat of the Spanish Republic and the establishment of the Franco dictatorship. His parents, Don Juan de Borbon y Battenberg and Maria de las Mercedes de Borbon y Orleans, had been living in exile for seven years, together with ex-King Alfonso.

In 1941, ex-King Alfonso passed his rights to the Spanish throne to his son, Don Juan. The pretender has never relinquished these rights. But he saw no reason not to let his son be educated in his native land, even under General Franco's tutelage, although the caudillo clearly intended that Don Juan, regarded



Juan Carlos chats with Gerald Ford during the President's visit to Spain earlier this year

AP photo

as too liberal, should be passed over and that young Juan Carlos should one day be General Franco's successor.

Prince Juan Carlos was 10 when he first set foot on Spanish soil after Don Juan and General Franco met to discuss an education program to prepare the boy "for his future responsibilities."

This program was agreed on: a year of intensive tutoring followed by military schooling in the Spanish Army, Air Force, and Navy compressed into three years, then two more years of university education and intensive tutoring.

Juan Carlos is said to be even tempered and to show consideration for others.

Until a few years ago he never contested his father's claim as the legitimate heir to the Spanish throne. Don Juan has said repeatedly: "There will never be any question of my stepping aside or abdicating in favor of my son."

But early in 1969 the Prince revealed that he would agree to be General Franco's designated successor as king even though this went against his father's wishes. He indicated that since it was in General Franco's power to block, as well as bring back, the Borbon monarchy to Spain, the only way to restore the Borbon dynasty was to accept the caudillo's formula.

On July 22, 1969, Juan Carlos was formerly proclaimed General Franco's designated successor. On bended knee he swore allegiance to the dictator and pledged to uphold the fundamental laws and institutions of the regime.

Father and son retain a warm family relationship, although Don Juan in 1969 made public a letter to Juan Carlos warning him that he would be a "tarnished king" if he accepted the throne over his father's head. But today there is speculation that Don Juan may after all abdicate his succession rights in favor of his son.

Free press thrives in Portugal as Communist journals sag

By Helen Gibson

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon
"Give me a Pravda" is the way many Portuguese now ask for their main morning newspaper.

Before the revolution, *Diario da Noticia* ranked as one of the most prestigious of Portugal's national newspapers, and more than 200,000 copies were read every morning over breakfast.

Since its take-over by Communists earlier this year, the newspaper prints about half that number. News vendors say that of those only 50,000 are actually sold. And this figure they attribute to the fact that *Diario* is the only national newspaper running at a loss.

On reading *Diario's* account of the far-leftist take-over of a radio station, which had been sealed and closed on the President's orders the week before, it is not hard to understand why the Portuguese are finding *Diario* hard to take these days.

The story read: "In the cold dawn, the revolutionary heat of the factory workers, farm laborers, soldiers and sailors, united in one single body, determined on one objective, imposed their will and said 'open the door.' And the seal, mark of the claws of fascism, fell, bent under the will of the people."

The only other major morning daily, *O Seculo*, toes the Communist Party line even more obviously. Its circulation also has plummeted, and it is desperately seeking government aid.

As the Socialist-oriented sixth government is a daily target for *Seculo's* attacks, the newspaper is not getting very far in its demands.

When after the abortive right-wing coup in March it looked as if most of the newspapers had fallen into the Communists' hands, people were despondent. "We have just come out of 48 years of right-wing censorship and now

we're going to be given Communist propaganda. Will we never have a free media?" said one housewife.

But today, the only newspapers with soaring circulations are those of the non-Communist press.

Apart from the long-established weekend *Expresso*, which maintained an independent line even in the days of the former right-wing Salazar regime, four new newspapers have appeared over the last few months and have had an almost instant success.

The afternoon newspaper *Jornal Novo*, which has established a fiercely independent viewpoint, jumped to more than a 100,000 circulation in four months.

At a time when the Communist press was fawning over the ruling military regime, *Jornal Novo* ran cartoons of its leaders. One fairly gentle caricature of an admiral offended the Navy's dignity to such an extent that the high command threatened the paper with action by the fleet if any further such drawings appeared.

Unabashed, the newspaper then ran the

story of an imaginary battle with the Navy making a landing at the *Jornal Novo* offices defended by newspapermen with scissors. Most Portuguese enjoyed what they saw as a refreshing piece of irreverence in a sea of turgid Communist propaganda.

Two new independent weeklies, which have both shot up into the 100,000 circulation bracket, cannot print enough copies to fill the demand. Even *Templario*, once an insignificant provincial newspaper, finds that the 50,000 copies it sends up to Lisbon disappear the day they hit the streets.

The fast flowering of the non-Communist press has given politicians new hopes about press freedom in Portugal. The fact that the government-owned and Communist-controlled newspapers now need one to six million dollars a month to play in business while the non-Communist press earns a profit has added to this optimism.

"In June I thought we had lost all freedom of expression," one Socialist politician said. "Now it is better than ever before."

The Socialists pulled out of the government in early July because the far Left grabbed control of the Socialist-oriented newspaper *Republica* and turned it into their mouthpiece. At the time, *Republica* had a circulation of about 80,000. Now it prints about 3,000 copies and some say it sells fewer than half.

Meanwhile, editor Raul Rego and the newsmen purged from *Republica* started a new afternoon newspaper, *A Luta*. Since it began printing two months ago, *A Luta's* estimated circulation has risen to 80,000.

"The press is alive and well in Portugal," an anti-Communist newsmen said recently. "We thought we were finished, but we have come up again even stronger than before."

And the Communists are unhappy about it. Almost daily either the party itself or one of the organizations it controls complains about stories printed in the non-Communist press.

"I wish they would come out with more statements," one non-Communist editor said. "Every time they say something our circulation jumps another 10,000."

Iceland grinds to halt as women march for equal pay

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Reykjavik, Iceland
Some of the march leaders wore red stockings, and some marchers carried posters showing clenched fists. But when 15 percent of the women of Iceland went on strike and brought the island's business to a halt, recently, it was in some ways more of a good-natured happening than a militant action.

Grandmothers marched, some of them holding hands with children. Viking-sized policemen led the march to make sure traffic stopped at the intersections. Children dodged ahead of the policemen or crawled on bicycles.

since school was closed while the teachers marched.

Iceland's women did not go on strike without a serious message to get across. "We wanted to show how much of the work that women do really counts," said Ylfiorg Harðardottir, a member of the Red Stockings Organization active here since May, 1970.

In Iceland women earn an average of 30 percent less than men for the same work. "We are equal under law but not in fact," said Jónhanna Kristjánssdóttir, a reporter for the "Morning Blade," the largest newspaper in Iceland.

Women started voting in local elections here in 1944 and in general elections in 1945.

Theoretically they can hold any job, but equal sharing of titles and advancement were real issues in the strike.

Divorce has increased rapidly here in the last 15 years.

The proportion of illegitimate children has always been high. Now it is higher than in any other country in Europe. Only 40 percent of the first-born children are born to married couples.

Leaders of the strike hope women will stand together on some issues, like inflation, which has run at 50 percent for 18 months.

With a population of 215,000, Iceland imports almost everything, paying for it by fish exports.

Europe U.S. chides Romania on Jewish immigration issue

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Bucharest, Romania
The United States has quietly but firmly reminded Romania of the link between emigration and the trade advantages the U.S. granted it earlier this year.

Recently the issuance of passports to Romanian Jews who wish to go to Israel has slowed down. American officials are leaving the Romanian authorities no doubt of U.S. concern that the number of exit permits issued monthly began to fall shortly after passage of the trade bill that conferred most-favored-nation advantages on Romanian exports to the U.S.

U.S. officials are reminding them that this legislation is subject to review after one year, the inference being that extension could be affected by unwarranted delay or shortcomings in observance of the emigration process.

Romanian reaction so far has been a retort that the figures should not be viewed on a month-to-month basis but within the emigration picture overall.

Officials here claim that more than 300,000 Jews have left Romania in the past 15 years. The rate accelerated earlier this year, when emigration was a strong issue in Congress.

Precise figures for most recent months are not available, but there has been a marked fall in the granting of permits since the June-July peak; and subsequent Israeli press reports of withdrawals of exit papers already issued seem true in a number of cases.

The latest expression of the American view was made by Rep. Charles A. Vanik, whose visit here last week concluded with an hour's talk with President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The President apparently admitted awareness of a number of cases and seemed to indicate they would receive attention, though he insisted that others presented difficulties that would not be easily resolved.

Among the tragic cases is that of violinist

Sylvia Marcovici and her husband, surgeon Aldea Turai.

Miss Marcovici is only 23. She is Jewish. In the view of many domestic and foreign critics, she is Romania's leading violinist.

She began to play at age eight. She wanted to sing, but the family could not afford a piano. Her teacher bought her a violin instead.

By 16 she was well known, and in the years since, she has played in most European capitals — London, Paris, Bonn, Berlin, and Moscow — and in the United States.

Three years ago she married. Her husband is a highly qualified Bucharest surgeon. Until this year he worked in the main emergency hospital here.

Last year Miss Marcovici was engaged for another U.S. tour. For the first time, she and her husband petitioned for permission for him to accompany her.

The foreign currency shortage here often is advanced to explain why Romanians are so rarely allowed to travel to the West, but the question did not arise in this instance because Miss Marcovici's American fees would finance her husband's trip.

But permission was refused, and the Marcovici family — father, mother, an ailing elder brother, daughter, and her husband — decided on emigration to Israel.

Almost immediately after the request for permits was made in January, Dr. Turai was dismissed from his hospital position. He has since been working with an ambulance crew. Miss Marcovici has not received a single Romanian concert engagement this year.

Moreover, two recordings of four Beethoven sonatas she completed about that time have been denied release for public sale.

Some two months ago the couple were called to security police headquarters and told by a senior officer that their application was refused. The officer went on to tell Dr. Turai that a Romanian man does not run after his wife — it is the other way around here.



Ceausescu: admits awareness of some cases

By Sven Svan

Boss of British financial empire flew 'too close to the sun'

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

London
Once he controlled a world-girdling financial empire valued at close to half-a-billion dollars. Today Jim Slater, retired though still in his mid-40s, is being compared with an Icarus whose wings melted when he flew too close to the sun.

The City of London, sancta sanctorum of British finance, breathes easier this week as a new chairman and board took over Slater Walker Securities, the holding company that Mr. Slater and his Tory partner Peter Walker founded 11 years ago. Friday, when Mr. Slater resigned, Slater Walker shares were being quoted at 35 pence, whereas in 1973 they were all over 284 pence (over \$7).

Had Slater Walker gone under, the financial repercussions would have been severe.

Mr. Slater, a dashing, controversial, and (to some) charismatic personality, flashed across the staid horizons of the City of London like a fiery comet, bringing (it was thought) a new era in his wake.

He had no blue blood, he went neither to Eton nor Harrow, he started business life as a 213-a-week accountant at the age of 16. After a highly successful career at British Leyland, he struck out on his own, buying into a small property company called H. Lotery in 1964 and turning it into Slater Walker Securities.

His partner was Peter Walker, a Conservative politician and businessman who later became Secretary of Trade in the Edward Heath Cabinet. Mr. Walker said Friday, however, that he had had nothing to do with Slater Walker for the past six years.

Mr. Slater pioneered the concept of buying into a variety of companies, frequently being operated at a loss. He would bring in new, aggressive management, and try to maximize

profits by concentrating on what a particular company could do most efficiently and selling off other assets.

Other companies came into the field and became known as asset-strippers. Mr. Slater, however, turned his attention increasingly to investment banking. In 1971 he acquired a 26.6 percent interest in Haw Par, a long-established Far Eastern company headquartered in Singapore. In 1973 he startled the financial community by announcing negotiations aimed at merger with Hill Samuel, one of the most blue-blooded of the city's merchant banks. But the talks foundered two months later.

Meanwhile, Britain's property boom came to an end; the world plunged deeper and deeper into recession, and Slater Walker progressively had to sell off its various interests at home and abroad. Its profits declined precipitously by 78 percent between last year and the first six months of this year. Its shares continued to slide amid rumors of a loan of £14 million to Haw Par and mounting newspaper publicity about the latter's difficulties with the Singapore and Hong Kong governments.

(Slater Walker sold out its interest in Haw Par last year. Since then, the Hong Kong and Singapore governments have been investigating allegations that Haw Par directors had made fat personal profits by buying and selling their own company's shares through a Hong Kong-registered dummy.)

Mr. Slater himself never joined the boards, either of Haw Par or of the alleged dummy firm, Spyder. But the long investigation and rumors associated therewith have tarnished the image of Slater Walker. The company is still important in the field of unit trusts, where public confidence is essential. It has cash, thanks to Mr. Slater's policy, as the stock market declined, of selling off assets ruth-

lessly, even at a loss. Bank of England and other officials have confirmed that the company has not had to go to the bank for a "lifeline" type loan.

But Mr. Slater felt he had to leave, and that a new board headed by a new chairman would give the company the new image it needed. He is retiring to his comfortable home in Esher,

Surrey, to devote more time to his young family.

The new chairman, James Goldsmith, is an old Londoner who is a close friend of Mr. Slater's. Other new board members are Lord Rothschild and Charles Hambro, representing respectively the mighty Rothschild and Hambro banks.

To squat or not to squat?

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

London
Trevor and George have this in common: They are both British, in their 20s, and have been house-hunting amid a national housing crisis.

But the solutions they have found are totally different.

Trevor got a mortgage from his local government, a prize made sweeter by monthly payment reductions during the first few years when his income presumably will be low.

George by contrast has joined a group of squatters in an empty Victorian mansion, and his housing costs are nil. London has an estimated 30,000 squatters living on the fringe of the law in vacant buildings.

Training to be a lawyer and engaged to be married, Trevor found himself priced out of the housing market.

The building societies (loan associations) showed little interest in financing the apartment he and his fiancée found in an older building in north London. Besides, mortgage interest rates had soared to 11 percent (about 2 percent in the United States) and London property taxes in the past year had jumped 49 percent.

What to do? Unlike the building societies,

the local government — Camden, one of London's 33 boroughs, whose boundaries embrace the green glens of Hampstead Heath and perhaps the city's largest concentration of aging apartments — wanted to help.

"It's in our interest," explains a Camden official, "to do what we can to keep up accommodation and encourage owner occupation."

So Camden (and other British local governments, on a smaller scale) issue mortgages to certain Parliament-authorized categories of home-hunters.

Interest rates of these "council mortgages" no longer undercut the private lenders, but monthly payments may be lowered during early-career years from, say, £50 to £40 (from \$100 to \$80).

George, as befitting someone who works for an underground newspaper, found "underground" housing arrangements. Friends invited him to join them in a "squat" in a converted stately house in the west London community of Westbourne Grove. The building, owned by a church trust, had been vacant for a year.

In a city having an estimated 10 empty homes for every homeless family, London authorities are conspicuously tolerant. Fully 2,950 of the 4,700 known squatter operations are officially "authorized," and officials have gone on record against making squatting a crime.

4 Billion. 7 Billion.

The first figure shown above represents the present world population; the second, the estimated population at the beginning of the next century. In other words, in less than three decades the number of people struggling for survival in this rapidly dwindling world of ours will double if the population keeps exploding at its current alarming rate.

World food production now totals 1.3 billion tons of grains and cereals, 87 million tons of meat, and 70 million tons of fish and shellfish. But the population is mushrooming so fast we simply cannot produce enough food to keep pace with it.

The world has about 7.9 billion acres of arable land. Although half of this is already being farmed, cultivating the other half is not so easy as it might seem. Besides the lack of water to keep it irrigated and other natural deterrents, there is the problem of supplying everything from modern agricultural equipment and farming know-how to proper fertilizers and insecticides. Enormous sums of money would also have to be raised to finance the cultivation of vast new tracts of land. Is there a way out of this dilemma? For one thing, we must bend every effort toward making maximum use of the ocean as a source of food.

A meatless diet for most Westerners is virtually unthinkable. On the other hand, as a nation of fish-eaters we Japanese cannot imagine what it would be like to go without fish in our diet. There are only 89 million acres in all of Japan—one twenty-fifth the land area of your country. But only about one-seventh of this can be

used for farming, since Japan is a very mountainous country. A prodigious 110 million people are squeezed into the narrow confines of a land somewhat less than the size of California, a state with a population today of only 20 million or so. Since it produces only 40 percent of its food from the land,

Japan must turn to the sea for a large part of its protein requirements. Accordingly, Japan has long been compelled to exert its best efforts toward making maximum use of its sea resources.

Most of the countries participating in the U.N.'s Law of the Sea Conference lean toward establishing a 200-mile economic zone along their coastlines. Although it would give them exclusive rights to fish and farm the ocean's resources within that boundary, it would also prevent Japan and other nations, including most of the European and Mediterranean countries, from fishing in areas that they have developed over the years with so much time and trouble. The countries getting most benefit from such exclusive economic zones will obviously be those blessed with enormous land territories.

It goes without saying that international systems need to be adjusted to cope with the changing times. And it is not our intention to protest against setting up a new order for the sea in accordance with such changes. What we do object to is the unfairness inherent in any new system that benefits only certain countries and hurts other countries.

Since Japan desperately needs the living resources of the sea, we firmly believe it is both important and logical to do our best to conserve those resources. Accordingly, Japan has long been working diligently as a member of various international fishery organizations. Japan has also devoted many long years to research and survey work besides investing a great deal of money

to develop new fishing grounds. Such earnest efforts and achievements, we believe, should be properly recognized in the establishment of any new order of the sea. We hope we can win your understanding on this point.

For information on the fisheries industry in Japan, please contact us at the address below. Also we would like to hear your opinions on the above.

JAPAN FISHERIES ASSOCIATION

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Soviet-E. German pact is forged

By Paul Wohl
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The cool reception Moscow gave French President Giscard d'Estaing recently contrasts sharply with the organized enthusiasm that had greeted the state and party delegation of East Germany just some days earlier.

It points up the political significance of the East German visit and the new Soviet-East German treaty of Oct. 8. Seasoned observers see the treaty as a reaffirmation of the Brezhnev doctrine of 1968 which served as a pretext for the Warsaw Pact's occupation of Czechoslovakia.

The essential theme of the "doctrine" is that the Soviet Union and the entire socialist (Communist) community have the right and the obligation to intervene wherever they consider that the socialist system is threatened.

Article 8 of the Soviet-East German treaty extends the Warsaw Pact's obligation of mutual aid beyond an aggression in Europe. Henceforth the East Germans are bound to fight at Moscow's side in Asia as well.

The Soviets have always wanted the entire bloc to accept such a commitment.

The preamble to the treaty says it "corresponds to the basic interests . . . of the entire socialist community and serves a further rapprochement of the socialist nations." It obviously transcends strictly bilateral Soviet-East German relations.

The reception given the East Germans and the new treaty, plus the attendant publicity, are a warning to Western powers not to tamper with the political setup in East Germany.

Article 7 of the new treaty states that West Berlin "is not part of the Federal Republic of Germany and cannot be governed by the Federal Republic."

This formulation is more categorical than similar provisions of the 1971 agreement between the U.S.S.R. and the three Western allies — the United States, France and Britain. In recent weeks the Soviets have repeatedly protested against meetings held in West Berlin under the auspices of the Federal Republic.

The objective of the new treaty thus may be to justify East German measures aimed at separating West Berlin completely from West Germany.

Significantly all major East German leaders were in the delegation visiting Moscow, and they missed East Berlin's observances of the German Democratic Republic's national holiday.

Their visit to Moscow was preceded by a five-day visit of an East German military delegation and by a session of the East German party plenum.

The French President was made to visit Soviet sites relating to the past century but the East German leaders were taken to the modern industrial centers of the Urals and to Stalingrad. Wherever they went, huge crowds assembled in demonstrative greeting, whereas the French delegation drove through empty streets. It seems an apt illustration of the new turn of Soviet policy.

E. bloc energy seminar

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Varna, Bulgaria
A high-level scientific and research consortium linking East and West has for the first time conducted a fully international seminar in one of its Communist member countries.

In remarks opening the recent meeting here of the International Institute for Applied Systems Analysis (IIASA), the organization's acting director, Dr. Roger Levien of the United States, stressed the consortium's commitment to two-way communications and wider participation. Dr. Levien formerly was associated with the Rand Corporation.

IIASA was founded three years ago with 12 member states — six from the West, Japan, and five East-bloc countries. Austria and Hungary have since joined the organization. The United States and the U.S.S.R. contribute most of its budget.

The four-day seminar, which ended Oct. 25 focused on energy and water systems. These are just two of the eleven major projects the institute currently is studying.

IIASA is concerned with developing a livable environment for the population of 10 billion that experts predict the world will have within the next 100 years. The present world population is 4 billion.

The institute is studying the depletion of the world's resources and acceptable and economical alternatives. It has to think big, as it is thinking in terms of 20 or 40 years or more.

"Allowing only five kilowatt hours of energy per person in a population of 10 billion we still shall have a tremendous global problem," says Wolf Haelele, West German deputy leader of the IIASA energy project. His group is only halfway through its project — estimating future needs and studying options as the world moves on from coal (although reserves are estimated to be adequate for another seven centuries) and strives to remove its present dependence on oil.

In the next year this group will look beyond nuclear energy to solar energy. Actual case studies are being made in Austria, West Germany, France, and the United States. Bulgaria and East Germany also are surveying the potential for solar energy.

India alarmed by new power alignment on its flanks

By Mohan Ram
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

New Delhi

A new diplomatic axis is emerging in South Asia — and India and the Soviet Union are not happy about it.

The axis extends from Pakistan on the western end, through Bangladesh, to China on the east. In a matter of weeks China and Bangladesh will have diplomatic ties — something the Pakistanis are claiming major credit for having brought about. For its part, Pakistan established diplomatic ties with Bangladesh, its former eastern wing, in February, 1974, and was the first nation to recognize the new government in Dacca after the coup of last Aug. 15 that overthrew Sheikh Mujibur Rahman.

China's decision to recognize Bangladesh raised hopes of a thaw in Peking-New Delhi relations. But earlier this month Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi charged China with interfering in her country's internal affairs. She said the Chinese "have been instigating some of our people on the borders. We have recovered Chinese arms and books from people who have been encouraged to go across, undertake guerrilla training, and come back. This interference has been continuing."

Mrs. Gandhi obviously was referring to rebels along India's northeastern frontier, specifically in Nagaland and Mizoram where secessionist movements have long troubled the New Delhi government.

Peking's ambassador in Bangladesh, in effect, will establish a Chinese presence between New Delhi and the troublesome provinces, which are connected to the rest of India by a neck of land across the northern border of Bangladesh.



Teng: a dire warning

Moreover, observers in New Delhi are puzzling over recent Chinese pronouncements that would seem to signal a certain unpredictability in Peking's posture over South Asia.

Chinese Foreign Minister Chiao Kuan-hua said at the United Nations that "what characterizes the current world situation is decidedly not an irreversible process of détente but the approaching danger of a new world war." Vice-Premier Teng Hsiao-ping later echoed the theme, saying "the Chinese people must get prepared in every way against the growing danger of a new world war."

This theme would seem to mean that a thaw in Chinese-Indian relations will not happen soon. In addition, the Chinese press has been keeping up an attack of its own on India's policies and government.

However, India still does not perceive a military threat from China, despite reports of a new Chinese nuclear missile base in Tibet, building of strategic roads across Tibet to the Indian border, and a strengthened communications network that extends all the way to Kashmir in India's north.

Communists make major strides in Himalayan state

By Brahmanand Mishra
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Katmandu, Nepal

A number of observers of the Nepal political scene are concerned that their country may be going communist.

The reason for their fears is an expected new cabinet in which King Birendra is likely to serve as his own prime minister. Informed sources say that discussions on the formation of such a cabinet have reached an advanced stage.

A Royal Constitutional Reform Commission has been impeded to recommend changes in the administrative structure of this tiny Himalayan country. The commission's findings are due soon, and some of them are expected to be favorable to the communist cause. Once the commission's work is finished and has been reviewed by the King, the Cabinet will step aside in favor of a new one.

The prospect of a new cabinet has disappointed both democrats and royalists in Nepal. Neither group represents a formal political party because the country has none. Nevertheless, only one royalist is thought to be a candidate for the new cabinet. No Democrat is said to be on the list.

On the other hand, the communists appear to have been making political gains since they energetically sought to share power in the 1960s with the late King Mahendra only to be rebuffed. King Birendra's actions seem to indicate that he is not opposed to sharing power as his father was.

Last year a group of the country's top political personalities got together to hold a series of discussions, ostensibly to draft suggestions for helping the panchayat (partyless) system of government work more smoothly. At the end of these meetings a resolution was passed, but instead of offering suggestions, it branded the panchayat system



a failure and called for a national political forum.

The resolution annoyed King Birendra, and, as a result, former Foreign Minister Kishore Shah was obliged to leave the country — apparently with the blessing of the communists. The communists are said to have told the King that Mr. Shah, a prominent democrat, was responsible for the resolution.

With the King thus annoyed at political advances might have received a setback. But when the Royal Constitutional Reform Commission was announced, a prominent communist was listed as one of its members.

Further, the commission's report is said to suggest constitutional status for a communist-dominated back-to-the-villages campaign committee. Representatives of this committee would thus be eligible for Cabinet posts.

Democrats fear that once communists have gained seats of power they will be difficult to remove. Indeed, some communists reportedly have served notice that "once we establish ourselves, we can dictate terms."

Fourth year of martial law in Philippines

Dictator Marcos ponders 'some form of elections'

By Daniel Southerland
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Manila

President Ferdinand E. Marcos enters his fourth year of martial law in a relaxed mood, obviously enjoying his work and clearly intent upon sticking to the path of authoritarian government, which he has chosen for the Philippines.

These were impressions gathered from an interview of well over an hour with Mr. Marcos at the Malacanang Palace, the President's official residence in the capital.

Mr. Marcos declared that in the three years since he imposed martial law the threats to his government from both the Left, meaning the Maoist-style guerrilla fighters of the New People's Army, and the Right have been "practically eliminated."

The Philippine President depicted the Muslim rebellion in the south as still posing a threat to the stability of the country. But he asserted that there was little fighting going on there at the moment, thanks to a cease-fire declared by the government and to a large number of surrenders on the part of the rebels.

Having described his opponents on all sides as drastically weakened, Mr. Marcos was

asked when it might be possible to lift martial law.

The original justification for the imposition of martial law was the threat of chaos, revolution, and conspiracy against the government.

But Mr. Marcos indicated that the lifting of martial law would depend not only on the control of revolutionary, secessionist, and conspirators but also on economic questions.

"... We would have to answer such questions as how long is this economic crisis going to last?" said Mr. Marcos. "When will there be an end to this recession? To the inflation that seems to threaten the world?"

The President said that he is willing to experiment with some form of elections at the local level, but he clearly does not want to return to the national elections of the free-swinging variety that prevailed under the old American-style democracy, which he brought to an end three years ago.

"I would like to see if we can conduct some form of elections without the evils of the elections conducted under the old society — the corruption, the coercion, the cheating, the use of government funds, and the hoopla and everything else," he said.

"It is my feeling that where there is any

lack of consensus or there is controversy as to who should be the leader in any locality, we should throw this to the people and experiment as to whether we now have the capability to conduct a good clean election, at least locally," he said.

On the subject of American bases in the Philippines, Mr. Marcos said that his government was "finalizing the details" of its position in preparation for negotiations that would alter the status of the bases.

"What we would like to do is convert all American bases into Philippine bases and eliminate all signs of extra-territoriality," he said.

But he also made it clear that this would mean continuing to have an American naval and Air Force presence in the Philippines sufficient to maintain the current balance of military power in this part of the world.

Asked what the Chinese attitude toward the U.S. bases in the Philippines had been when he visited Peking last June, Mr. Marcos said that the Chinese refused to discuss the question.

"I tried to get them to talk about the American bases but they studiously kept quiet about it," he said.



By Sven Simon

Marcos: fewer threats now

Taiwan: easing clampdown?

By William Armbruster
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Taiwan may be easing its clampdown on political activity, if recent events since the passing of Gen. Chiang Kai-shek are any indication:

• Two issues have appeared in the Taiwan Political Review, a new monthly journal whose editors include Kang Ning-hsiang, an outspoken independent legislator. Thus far the government of Premier Chiang Ching-kuo, General Chiang's son, has taken no action against it.

• Li Ao, former editor of a now-suppressed literary magazine, and seven other political prisoners have had their sentences commuted by a special military tribunal. This follows a general amnesty last July in which more than 200 political prisoners were released or had their sentences lightened, including Albert Yuan, former correspondent for the French news agency, Agence France-Presse, who had been in jail for 12 years.

• The government has allowed Chen Yu-hsi, a former political prisoner with a master's degree from the University of Hawaii, to return to the United States following a personal appeal on his behalf by a Hawaiian congressman.

It is probably too early to tell whether these cases indicate a genuine move toward liberalization or are simply gestures to placate domestic — and especially foreign — public opinion.

A respected local intellectual contends that the government's handling of the Li Ao and Chen Yu-hsi cases cannot be considered part of a trend toward liberalization. He notes that the support from Hawaii for Mr. Chen and the concern over Mr. Li expressed by Amnesty International came at a time when Taiwan's political fortunes were in decline. Other political prisoners who are not well known abroad may not be so likely to receive such favorable treatment, he says.

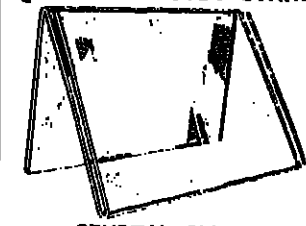
Others say the new more liberal government posture may simply be a way to make an auspicious start following an important na-

tional turning point — the passing of General Chiang.

The Taiwan Political Review is the fourth in a series of dissenting magazines that have appeared in Taiwan over the last two decades. The others all were eventually suppressed. In the first issue an article by Mr. Kang asserted that persons who are not members of the Nationalist Party, or Kuomintang, do not have an equal opportunity to achieve high government positions.

Mr. Chen, who has twice studied in Hawaii, has been in and out of trouble with the Taiwan Government since 1968 for writing leftist articles, taking part in demonstrations against the Vietnam war, and reading the works of Chairman Mao Tse-tung. An organization known as the Friends of Chen Yu-hsi has been active in his behalf in Hawaii for the last seven years.

NEW QUARTERLY STUDY STAND

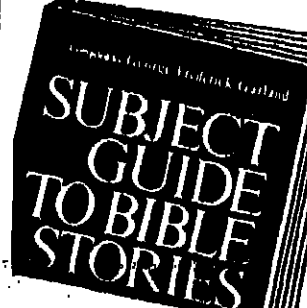


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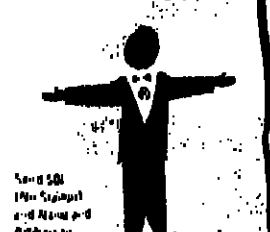
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United States



William and Emily Harris (at left); Wendy Yoshimura (below left); Patricia Hearst (in center and above right); and SLA group (below right)

A credo for Patricia Hearst?

'Revolutionary feminist' document disclosed—
reportedly written by captured SLA members

By Frederic A. Moritz
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

A long-term, theoretical "revolutionary feminist" writing project by women members of the so-called "Symbionese Liberation Army" was interrupted by the Sept. 18 arrest of Patricia Hearst and other SLA fugitives, according to a communiqué signed by "sisters of the Symbionese Liberation Army" and indirectly made available to this newspaper.

Although the document makes no specific claim to present Miss Hearst's past or present views, it may shed some light on her thinking at the time of her arrest, according to the source who provided access to the document.

In transcripts of tapes made of jail-cell conversations with visitors, Miss Hearst was quoted as declaring herself a "revolutionary feminist." Miss Hearst's former companion Emily Harris is expected to stress her strong feminist views in her courtroom defense.

The contents of the typed document received by mail appear authentic and are apparently from SLA women still at large, according to this newspaper's source. The source has participated in the "Bay Area Research Collective," the group which has reprinted and distributed past SLA writings.

Others identified as group participants include James Kilgore, reportedly wanted in connection with an April, 1975, SLA Sacramento bank robbery, and Kathleen and Josephine Solah, reportedly sought for helping to shelter Miss Hearst and other captured fugitives.

According to the writers, the document contains preliminary ideas for a much longer work that the Sept. 18 arrest makes "impossible to carry out at this time." But the communiqué asserts the need to explain the thinking of SLA women to fight the image, allegedly presented by the "pig media," of revolutionary women as "empty-headed gun-carrying automatons."

Stating that the object is to end a cultural system relegating women to dependency, the document calls for "feedback" from other feminist organizations.

Proclaiming that the "liberation of women and revolution are inextricably entwined," the communiqué declares that "fighting for revolution with a gun in hand is not just a man's game." It argues that the origins of "revolutionary feminism" date back to the pre-Civil War abolitionist movement.

While the communiqué warns that "sisters" must guard against male domination even in revolutionary movements, it also declares that women revolutionaries should "never take a completely separatist stand," but should instead teach men to recognize their own mistakes and weaknesses.

"Armed propaganda is our main focus now," declares the communiqué, adding that media coverage of "armed actions" will help

educate "the people" by exposing the "decadent, blood-thirsty, imperialistic nature of the ruling class and its government."

In the solitude of a San Mateo County jail cell, Patricia Hearst now has had more than a month to consider her attitude toward such views.

But there is still no public sign if she will continue to proclaim "revolutionary feminist" loyalties at the risk of alienating a jury and drawing a stiff prison term — or testify that she was a victim of her SLA captors.

Defense attorney Albert Johnson has refused to say whether his client has agreed to testify as a victim, on grounds that that is a privileged lawyer-client question. He says he will oppose any effort to have Miss Hearst cross-examined at the Nov. 4 hearing.

But the continuing defense strategy of delay indicates that so far Miss Hearst has refused to turn against her former companions, a number of experts suggest.

Senator Bayh has an eye on the presidency

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Asserting that he will "bring back moral leadership to the White House," Sen. Birch Bayh has joined the crowd of nine who now have declared for the Democratic presidential nomination.

To identify himself from the others the still-youngish Senator will stress these points:

He is convinced that he is the one man in the party who can bring together all elements — particularly the regulars, the labor leader, and the young people.

He puts himself, ideologically, in the middle of the spectrum within the Democratic Party or, as one of his aides put it, "perhaps very slightly to the left of middle." The "center position" he has shown on issues, reflected in his voting record, is just right, he believes, to allow him to pull the party together.

Political observers here see the Senator possessing possible star quality. Some believe he could well go "all the way."

It is recalled that in 1972, when he stepped out of the race for the nomination because of his wife's illness, Senator Bayh was being taken seriously as a candidate who might well gain the nomination. Some here are convinced that, had he stayed in, Mr. Bayh would have beaten out George McGovern.

Mr. Bayh is considered a persuasive speaker. His wife, Marvella, is thought by many to be the best campaigner among the candidates' wives. Should Mrs. Bayh take the stump — as she has in senatorial races in Indiana, she could do much to forward her husband's candidacy.

The other declared candidates are Sen. Henry M. Jackson, and Lloyd Bentsen, Jim Carter, Fred Harris, Terry Sanford, R. Sargent Shriver, U.S. Rep. Morris K. Udall, and Pennsylvania Gov. Milton J. Shapp.

Senator Bayh said Oct. 21 that he was running for president "to once again establish excellence as the American standard." There was a ring of John F. Kennedy in the statement.

In developing his theme of returning moral leadership to the White House, the Senator said this in Indianapolis:

"Moral leadership demands not the fears that too many jobs will cause inflation but the conviction that too few jobs will cause human suffering."

"Moral leadership demands the national commitment that every man and woman who wants to work will have a job."

U.S. agency snoops on not-so-private private cables

By Peter C. Stuart
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
The newest battleground over government "snooping" may be private cablegrams and Telex messages.

Such eavesdropping is being investigated by the U.S. Justice Department and committees in both houses of Congress — so far without a public hearing.

Rep. Bella S. Abzug (D) of New York says a six-week investigation by the staff of the subcommittee she chairs reveals that the super-secret National Security Agency (NSA) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation for 30 years "regularly intercepted and copied" overseas cables and Telex communications.

This monitoring, she charges, may violate federal communications laws and constitutional privacy guarantees.

Subcommittee sources say federal intelligence agents in Washington and New York intercepted nontelephoned messages sent to certain countries and foreign embassies. Target nations are believed to have included Communist states, as well as allies such as Israel and Mexico.

The NSA and FBI reportedly received cooperation from American telephone and cable companies. Some firms are said to have permitted blanket examination of all cable traffic, while others culled certain requested communications.

The Abzug subcommittee investigation included the overseas communications operations of RCA, ITT, and Western Union, plus American Telephone & Telegraph.

An aide says investigators "believe" the eavesdropping now has ended.

Such a 30-year monitoring operation, if confirmed, would predate the CIA's admitted

mail-opening program. And it would involve a massive store of information, with over 24 million transoceanic telegrams sent in 1973 alone.

The subcommittee headed by Representative Abzug — one of Congress's most vocal critics of government intelligence-gathering techniques — is locked into a struggle, within itself and with top intelligence and White

House officials, over making its investigation public.

Successful pressure to postpone public opening-day hearings scheduled for October 23 came personally from Attorney General Edward H. Levi, presidential counselor John O. Marsh Jr., NASA director Lewis Allen, and Assistant Defense Secretary for Intelligence Albert C. Hall.

New Yorkers rally to city's rescue

By George Moneyhun
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York
It isn't easy for Mayor Abraham D. Beame and other New Yorkers to be

optimistic these days — but many are.

Mayor Beame himself says there has been too much "bad mouthing" about the city, and an increasing number of New Yorkers are starting to speak up in defense of

the "Big Apple" — stressing its bright spots instead of its problems.

Some 1,000 letters a week arrive at city hall from across the U.S., most expressing sympathy and support for the Mayor and the city. Some letter writers enclose a few dollars for the city; one couple sent \$1,000 with theirs.

Several entertainers have offered to hold a telethon to help the city raise money, a proposal that is still being talked about.

Another group led by Queens assemblyman Joseph Lisa staged a World War II type of bond drive. Singing popular songs from the big-band era and one particular favorite called "I Believe in New York City," the group staged a rally last week seeking to convince the Municipal Assistance Corporation to sell bonds in the denominations of \$50 and \$100. The lowest denomination now being sold is \$1,000.

There are no lack of suggestions being put forward by civic groups, business organizations, retired executives, and the like for solving the city's problems. City officials now think they have enough financing to survive until Dec. 1, but after that the consensus here is that only some form of federal backing will keep the city from defaulting.

For Mayor Beame the budget crisis has been a personal blow that has consumed virtually all of his time since the crunch began last spring. Following his first budget cuts in July, he has gone from one weekly crisis to another.

Close observers of the Mayor are astonished at his stamina. Repeated emergencies in connection with the budget crisis have kept him at tough negotiating sessions until 3 a.m., but invariably he is back at his desk at 8:30 a.m.

The Mayor, who was elected on a campaign pledge to add more policemen to the city force and to keep rapid transit fares at 35 cents, has instead been forced to cut policemen and raise subway fares to 50 cents.

A graduate of the tuition-free City University of New York, the Mayor now must oversee sharp budget cuts and the institution of fees of his alma mater.

Many of his powers as mayor have been taken over by state boards in an attempt to convince investors the city is on the road to financial integrity. The Mayor publicly shrugs off his "loss of control," saying the city's future comes first.

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United States

'No smoking' is good business

By Clayton Jones
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
The dollar-and-cents value of clean air for nonsmokers is beginning to make sense in U.S. businesses and restaurants.

Workers are more efficient and customers return to restaurants where cigarette smoking has been banned or discouraged, report a growing number of companies and establishments.

And many companies are even giving extra cash to nonsmokers — an incentive for smokers to quit and clear the air for fellow nonsmoking workers.

For instance, a \$30 bonus arrives each month for nonsmoking workers at a savings bank in Birmingham, Alabama. This financial windfall for nonsmokers has cut the number of smokers to less than 15 out of 150 employees and created cleaner offices.

A glass company in Phoenix, Arizona, deducts \$30 a month from the paychecks of smokers who volunteer for a new program. If smokers kick the habit for a year, they get double their money back — a \$360 fringe benefit for quitting. Those who fail get back only their own money.

"We're getting less absenteeism and more energy," reports Eugene Kadish, president of Standard Glass Company. "We tried a flat-out

ban on smoking in the office but it just didn't work."

A smoking ban recently created a labor dispute at the Hershey chocolate factory in Hershey, Pennsylvania. About 500 workers held a four-hour work stoppage in July to protest a ban on smoking in washrooms and a requirement to smoke in designated areas. The issue remains unresolved.

It costs the George W. Dahl Company of Bristol, Rhode Island, more than \$8,000 a year to pay its nonsmokers \$3 a week to refrain. But the increased productivity from healthy and busy workers justifies the expense, says a company spokesman.

At the Leslie Manufacturing and Supply Company in Bloomington, Minnesota, smoking employees are paid \$7 a week to quit based on the estimated cost of a two-pack-a-day habit at 50 cents a pack.

With less smoking, says Leslie J. Renner, the company's president, "there is not as much loss of time from lighting up, opening the windows to let out the smoke, and all the things that are done around the ashtray."

Other businesses, such as the Austad Company of Sioux Falls, South Dakota, make a flat payment of \$100 to smokers to help them quit. President Oscar Austad says it has become company policy to protect the rights of nonsmokers to breathe clean air.

The National Restaurant Association (NRA) reports more and more restaurants in the U.S. are segregating smokers and nonsmokers.

In April, Minnesota became the first state to force restaurants to open nonsmoking sections. Similar bills are pending in 17 other states.

The NRA opposes such legislative moves. Rather, it is encouraging restaurant owners to consider the market value of catering to nonsmokers, who happen to be a majority in the U.S.

In Chicago, for instance, customers are willing to wait over 30 minutes to get a table at a North Side restaurant, the Brewery, which recently announced a nonsmokers section.

In Reno, Nevada, a big night spot called Harrah's Club now opens up its prime seats at shows to nonsmokers. Harrah's also recently picked up a \$500 tab for a two-week, stop-smoking course that each of its smoking executives was asked to enroll in.

At first, restaurant owners think nonsmoking sections bring less cash in tips and drinking money. But, say restaurant owners with nonsmokers areas, more cash flows in as nonsmokers, usually with families, eat more food and in less time than smoking customers who may take up table time with post-meal light-ups.

Illegal aliens breach borders

By a staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Curbing the growth of America's illegal alien population, now estimated at 8 million to 12 million, has become more difficult than ever according to those charged with the enforcement job.

Adding to the pressure to do a better and swifter job of ferreting out these illegal foreigners is this country's high unemployment and a fresh flood of overseas visitors expected next year for America's bicentennial celebration.

Yet Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) enforcement personnel say the 865,000 illegal aliens nabbed last year is close to their "saturation" point. They say they are held back by present budget, manpower, legal, and even management restraints.

While it is true, for instance, that \$30 million has been added to this year's INS budget, only 187 new enforcement positions have been created and training takes at least two years.

Employees say a doubling of the present 1,500 on the border patrol force is needed to make a substantial dent on the problem. Stressing that it covers 6,000 miles of U.S. border, Neil Doran, an INS deportation officer, says an estimated 2,000 illegal aliens a night pour in over one 18-mile stretch.

Africa

No-nonsense Vorster plays it tough on guerrilla raids

By Humphrey Tyler
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Cape Town
South African Prime Minister John Vorster is acting decisively to reinforce his image as the strong man in southern Africa.

His troops have avenged the killing of nine people in the northern area of South-West Africa (Namibia) by attacking two guerrilla camps, believed to be across the border in Angola, and killing seven guerrillas. And he has humbled Rhodesia's Ian Smith, by requiring him to make a public apology in Pretoria, for his criticism of Mr. Vorster's peace initiatives in southern Africa.

The South African Government has not admitted in so many words that its troops crossed into Angola to avenge the guerrilla killings, but it seems inevitable that this is so: There are no guerrilla bases in South-West Africa.

The government clearly intends the tough reprisal to be seen as a clear warning to any group thinking of taking on South Africa in a fight.

(South Africa has administered the former German colony of South-West Africa since World War I. It has retained control of the territory in defiance of United Nations resolutions calling for self-determination there.)

South African Minister of Defense P. W. Botha told a public meeting that "we will not allow our borders to be violated. These people who are hostile to South Africa must not cross our borders to murder people living together in peace."

And the Prime Minister warned that he would take "ruthless action" against any "evil infiltrators."

Both warnings are seen as a clear indication that raiders would be pursued and eliminated, wherever they fled.

Because it is a message backed by the most modern and most powerful defense force in Africa, Mr. Vorster hopes it will be considered soberly and carefully by any neighboring countries that might be tempted to allow opponents of the South African Government to set up military bases on their soil.

At the same time the South African Government has repeated that it will act only if

provoked, and that it regards international boundaries as sacrosanct.

The implication is that the same respect must be given its own boundaries.

Mr. Vorster's insistence that Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith fly to Pretoria to apologize for questioning (in a television interview) the effectiveness of South Africa's peace offensive in southern Africa — in which it has collaborated closely with Zambia, and also with Botswana, Tanzania, and Mozambique — is part of his new tough stance.

Mr. Vorster was insisting that he would allow nothing, and nobody, to compromise the so-called detente operation, because he genuinely wants friends in Africa.

At the same time, by humbling Mr. Smith, he was telling the rest of southern Africa that when the chips are down, it is ultimately South Africa that calls the tune and nobody else.

Although Mr. Smith has been considerably put out, the expectation here is that all this will help increase the growing, if sometimes grudging, respect for Mr. Vorster in nearby black Africa as a man who keeps his word and who acts, when the occasion demands it, with speed and determination.



Vorster: 'ruthless action'

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Australia

Postage up, Australians cut back on mail

By Ronald Vickers
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Sydney, Australia
Aunt Agatha — her letter says — "will not be sending any Christmas cards this year. I simply cannot afford it."

With domestic postage now costing 18 cents for Christmas cards and 28 cents for standard letters, thousands of other Australians also are pruning their mailing lists — or scrapping them altogether. A 32 percent drop in the number of Christmas cards is expected this year — a direct result of the increase in postage rates.

And, since the cost of mailing an ordinary letter has been hiked by 80 percent, the Post Office expects a 12 percent overall decline in usage as businesses find other ways of corresponding and reducing their postal commitments.

The steep increases in mailing costs were caused by the Labor government's recent refusal to subsidize communication services any longer. Now that the government insists on a "user pays" principle Australia has one of the most expensive postal services in the world.

Reaction has been quick — and critical —

especially from the business community, which accounts for 75 percent of all mail in Australia. Said a spokesman for the Postal Users Council: "The 'user pays' principle has already failed in the United States. How can it succeed here? There will be a swing from direct mail to space advertising, and the falloff in postal usage will be more like 20 percent than the 12 percent the Post Office predicts."

Michael Maton, managing director for the Reader's Digest in Australia, said the new rates would cost his company an additional

\$1.8 million a year and that prices of some books and records would have to be raised.

Salesmen for some companies are said to be instructed to drop off catalogs and price lists in person when calling on customers. They also are asked to present invoices and to pick up payment checks to save postage both ways.

A major insurance company has stopped issuing receipts for premiums sent through the mail, asking the policy holder instead to record his check number and the date on his policy as a record of payment.

Even some government agencies are get-

ting into the act, deciding to do away with their traditional Christmas greeting lists. The Governor of New South Wales, Sir Mark Oliphant, announced that he will send no Christmas cards this year and requested that none be sent to him.

One attempt to get around the new postal rates, however, was a notable failure. A firm that tried to save \$2,500 by having its circulars mailed from New Zealand had them impounded on arrival by the Australian Postal Office. The Post Office demanded full payment before it would deliver the circulars.

Australia's civil service criticized

By Ann Millar
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Canberra
Australia's civil service, says an analyst, is inefficient and should be revitalized.

The charge is made in a report prepared for the Royal Commission on Government Administration by Prof. G. E. Caiden, a Briton on the faculty of the University of Southern California.

Professor Caiden, sharply criticizes the wastages and delays of what he calls "the Canberra cocoon." He declares, "The responsibility of ensuring . . . a fair day's work for a fair day's pay is fragmentary and too often ineffectual."

His report calls for an overhaul of the rigidly centralized Australian Federal Public Service.

Among the reforms he proposes are:

• Movement of officials between Canberra

and the states to break the isolation of the central government from the rest of Australia

• More open government — a campaign promise so far largely unfulfilled by the Labor government.

• Greater obligation on the part of government officials to explain their decisions to the public.

• Less extravagant spending of public monies.

• Legislative safeguards for civil liberties.

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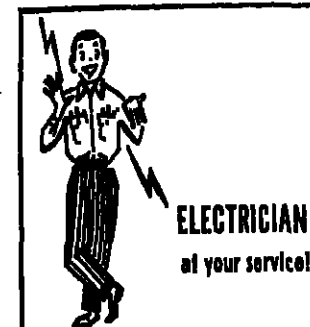
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Canada

Furore over Trudeau's anti-inflation package

By Phil Gibson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Ottawa

The Trudeau government is faced with a monumental job of salesmanship to convince Canadians income and price controls are the long-term answer to inflation.

Nearly everyone is skeptical. The powerful Canadian Labor Congress is preparing for a legal and media war to expose what it sees as injustices and failings of the program announced Oct. 13. Business leaders have adopted a similar, although less militant stance.

Even members of the civil service task force hastily convened to enforce the plan are pessimistic. They have dubbed their headquarters, an office building in downtown Ottawa, the "towering inferno."

Generally, the scheme imposes a mandatory, 10 percent ceiling on salaries and wages, with prices tied to justified increases in costs.

In a labor force of close to 10 million, nearly 40 percent have no choice. They include Canada's 1,500 largest firms and their workers, all government employees, and professionals who normally receive fees.

The rest, mainly farmers, fishermen, and small businesses, have been asked to voluntarily restrain their demands on the economy, guided by levels set for those compelled to obey.

If this plan fails, all economic sectors may be forced to comply, Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau has said.

Most people involved in the operation agree the mandatory controls must be seen to work fairly and effectively in order for the mixture of policies to succeed and to avoid a broader, more authoritarian solution.

A major obstacle at the moment is confusion over the details and implementation.

The Prime Minister is the key figure in an exercise, resembling a national election campaign, launched to justify and explain the government's action. He has been traveling

around the country lecturing on the theory of restraint. His most senior ministers have been doing the same.

Mr. Trudeau's opening address, delivered in the western prairie wheat belt least affected by controls, was considered a predictable success. This weekend his wife Margaret, who recently bore their third child, narrowly escaped an angry mob when she joined him in an appearance at a labor convention in Toronto.

Richard O'Hagan, chief publicist at the Canadian Embassy in Washington since 1967, was conscripted on short notice early in October to organize the information campaign.

Mr. O'Hagan, once a popular and respected media adviser to former Prime Minister Lester Pearson, has had much of the credit for what is perceived here as a growing awareness in the United States of Canada's needs and aspirations.

The government will avoid the kind of propaganda tactics used and accepted the last time Canadians were asked to make such economic sacrifices, during World War II, he said in an interview last week.

Sources in government and industry who know Mr. O'Hagan personally or by reputation say the campaign will be straightforward and aboveboard if he gets his way.

But there are circumstances over which even "a soldier like me" has no control, he admits. Among them is the current trouble in the federal post office department, now into the second week of a nationwide strike.

Postal service has been interrupted almost annually for the past decade. This time 22,000 inside workers have walked out, initially asking for a 71 percent raise.

Because the contract ran out before controls were imposed, the postmaster general has said negotiations are exempt from the guidelines. The finance minister argues it will be up to the new anti-inflation review board to decide.

Whichever way it goes, a large segment of Canadians will be unhappy.

The post office settlement alone could do irreparable harm to the government's search for restraint, observers agree.



Margaret Trudeau faces angry Toronto crowd

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Middle East

Egyptian leader says U.S. should open talks with PLO

By Dana Adams Schmidt
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington

The historic meeting of Egypt's President Anwar al-Sadat in the United States with President Ford and other U.S. leaders could be the benchmark for a fundamental shift in Middle East politics, analysts here say.

In support of this interpretation, President Sadat announced Tuesday (Oct. 28) that he has asked his Foreign Minister, Ismael Fahmy, to request that the Geneva Conference be reconvened by the United States and the Soviet Union. The two powers were co-sponsors of a conference which met briefly in Geneva at the end of 1973, with representation of all concerned except the Palestinians.

Mr. Sadat made it clear that before the Geneva conference is reconvened, he still expects negotiation of a Syrian-Israeli disengagement.

He said he had told President Ford Tuesday morning that, in his opinion, it would be wise for the United States, as soon as possible, to begin a dialogue with the Palestinians represented by Yasser Arafat. "Because there cannot be a settlement without the Palestinians," he said the U.S. should not insist that the

Palestinians officially recognize Israel before the U.S. contacts them. He implied that such recognition could be expected later.

Asked what President Ford had replied, he said: "No comment."

There are two widely differing interpretations of the meaning of the new Egyptian orientation, featuring President Sadat's willingness to enter into the Sinai agreement and his movement toward the U.S.

One interpretation takes the assertions made by U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Mr. Sadat at face value — that the Sinai agreement is meant to lead on to a Geneva conference at which all the remaining Arab-Israeli problems, including Palestinians, West Bank, and Jerusalem, would be solved.

Mr. Sadat says Dr. Kissinger promised to use his influence with President Hafez Assad of Syria as well as Israel to get the ball rolling.

The second interpretation, upheld by President Assad, calls the first interpretation illusion at best and a deliberate, outrageous obfuscation of what is really happening at worst.

According to the second interpretation, the

effect of the Sinai agreement is actually to take Egypt out of the Arab front against Israel.

Mr. Assad has no objection to Egypt's regaining the Sinai passes and the Abu Rudeis oil field. What upsets him are the political concessions Egypt made ostensibly in return for the territory but perhaps more significantly, in return for Dr. Kissinger's assurances that the United States could not only replace the Soviet Union as an arms supplier but could do more than the Russians could to lift Egypt out of its massive poverty.

The concessions were that Egypt promised to scale down its propaganda war and the economic war against Israel. President Sadat could not bring himself to go all the way, which would have amounted to a declaration of nonbelligerence; he could not bear, he insisted, to abandon his Arab allies.

But for President Assad (and the Palestine Liberation Organization and the other so-called rejectionists, who reject peace with Israel) the distinction Mr. Sadat made is meaningless. By cutting down his war effort he has already signaled his intention to end it, they say. He has in effect made a separate peace, and to boot carried the favor of America by turning against the Arabs' only consistent ally, the Soviet Union.

President Sadat sent an emissary to Dam-

ascus to explain, and President Assad refused to see him. Nonetheless, President Assad's position remains enigmatic. He has turned all the invective at his disposal against Mr. Sadat and the Sinai agreement. Yet he has not explicitly said that he will not negotiate a second interim disengagement with Israel.

Dr. Kissinger continues to express faith in President Assad, whom he has called "the most interesting man in the Middle East." But no one can be sure what the next move in the Middle East will be.

Some of the American analysts would be satisfied if only the Sinai agreement takes hold and Egypt in effect is separated from the rest of the Arab nations. They believe that could in fact ensure peace in the area for many years ahead, since Syria, no matter how well armed by the Soviet Union, and the other Arab states, are unlikely to generate enough strength to take on Israel.

Should peace come to the Middle East on such terms, they say, Egypt could turn, as it often has in thousands of years of history, away from the Arabs and towards the Mediterranean and Africa, reducing its enormous military burden and instead devoting its strength — together with Arab oil wealth investment and U.S. technology — to economic development.

Sadat called 'back door' anti-Semite

By Francis Ofner
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Jerusalem

Israelis have been taken aback by some of Egyptian President Sadat's remarks during his visit to the United States.

While welcoming his admission that the State of Israel is a fact and that he is prepared to make peace, his attack on Zionism was much resented here.

Israelis were most concerned, however, by what they called Mr. Sadat's "back-door anti-Semitism." Officials here averred that his claim that the Egyptian economy had been in the hands of Jews until 1963 was not only factually untrue, but was a reversion to Nazi slogans.

President Sadat's call for the internationalization of the entire area of Jerusalem, including the sector which has been in

Israeli possession since 1948, was described here as "going beyond anything that has been raised as a reasonable possibility."

If the Egyptian leader had made a deliberate effort to turn away even the most compromise-ready Israelis, he could have done nothing better than dispute their right to Jerusalem, officials said. This was not a step conducive to peace but away from it, they added.

Some observers here asked what motive could have impelled Mr. Sadat to give himself such a hardline image precisely when he is visiting the United States. Israelis do not claim to know what the Egyptian President's intention is, but officials think this was nothing of the tongue but a well-thought-out statement.

[The remarks referred to were made by Mr. Sadat in reply to questions at the National Press Club in Washington.]

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Middle East

As if sandflies weren't enough

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

United Nations, New York
As if rats, scorpions, unmapped minefields, sandfly swarms, and sheer boredom were not enough, UN troops in Sinai now face a number of new, and potentially serious, problems as a result of the American-sponsored Egyptian-Israeli agreement.

This is causing considerable anxiety among some diplomats here who have carefully examined the documents outlining the modified UN role.

There are three main areas of concern:
1. The Security Council is scheduled this week to extend the mandate of the UN's Sinai peace-keeping force. The current mandate expires Friday night. Yet some aspects of the relationship between the UN troops and

the 200 American technicians who will man electronic-surveillance stations in the same area remain unclear.

For the first time an observer force (American) will exist within an observer force (UN) — with the UN troops having to put into effect arrangements which they had no hand in negotiating.

2. The greatly enlarged buffer zone between Israelis and Egyptians, plus new duties thrust upon the UN troops by the Sinai accord, demand about 1,100 more men.

The mandate deadline now approaches without the UN being able to find reinforcements on this scale.

Countries which already supply contingents to the current 4,000-man UN force have so far proved unable or unwilling to increase their contingents enough to fill the gap. Whether they will do so later is disputed. Attempts to bring in a new contingent, for instance from Latin America, have been thwarted by (among others) the Russians.

3. American diplomacy up to now has successfully kept the Russians on the sidelines.

Now they have an opportunity, through Security Council control over the UN peace force, to gain at least a wrecking influence over implementation of the Sinai agreement.

The immediate question being asked here is whether the Soviet Union will agree to extend the mandate of the peace force for the full year agreed upon by the Israelis and Egyptians. American officials hope that support for such an extension among most nondignified countries will persuade the Russians to go along with it.

The next major obstacle comes a little later this year when a General Assembly committee tackles the financing of the greatly increased costs of the enlarged peace force — up from \$65 million to about \$100 million.

Any Soviet failure or prolonged delay in paying their extra share of these costs could compel a Western, notably American, financial-rescue operation. But this, it is feared here, would further undermine the delicate political balance of the force and add to some key countries' reluctance to contribute the essential reinforcements.

Even the expanded budget for the UN force will not give it salaries, facilities, or equipment approaching that of the American technicians.

UN troops will be expected to escort and protect American observers doing a parallel job in far greater comfort and at four times the pay (at least). Nor will UN troops be permitted to enter the highly sensitive early-warning system area in the Giddi and Milla passes except to escort American personnel to their surveillance stations.

In effect, one superpower (the United States) is telling the United Nations and its peace force what to do while the other superpower (the Soviet Union) threatens to undermine those arrangements.

The net result, according to well-informed diplomats here, is that the UN force has been put into a more unsettled and potentially demoralizing position than any of its predecessors. This is denied by American officials, however. They say they see no problems in relations between the U.S. and the UN role.

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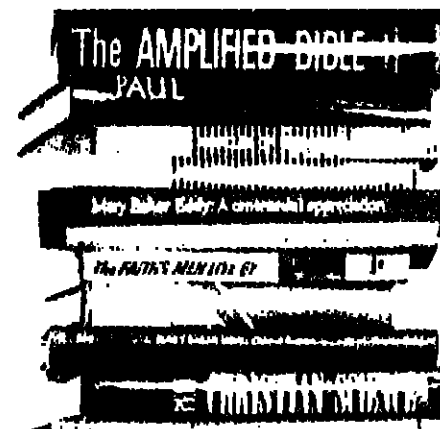
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From page 1

*China admits conflict

Refugees also gave accounts of a major riot, during which a number of Uighurs and Kazakhs died in the town of Kuldja.

Sinkiang represents one-sixth of the Chinese land mass. Until the 1960s it was predominantly the home of the Uighurs and Kazakhs — non-Orientals whose language, blood lines, and Islamic religion are linked with the Turkic peoples to the west.

Today, however, the region is more firmly integrated with the rest of China than ever before. This change has been wrought since 1949 by booming economic development, firm political and military organization — and the influx of millions of Han Chinese.

As a result agriculture and industry have been expanded, air and surface transportation developed, and Urumchi, the capital, transformed into a modern city of 800,000 people.

The headquarters of the Chinese nuclear program is at Lop Nor, about 280 miles southeast of Urumchi. It is thought to have been the site of China's underground test explosion, Oct. 27.)

It is not certain that the "splittist" elements referred to by the People's Daily are being instigated by the Soviet Union. It is possible that some Uighurs and Kazakhs are simply opposed to some of the changes occurring in their region.

The most politically sensitive change has been the massive influx of Han Chinese. In

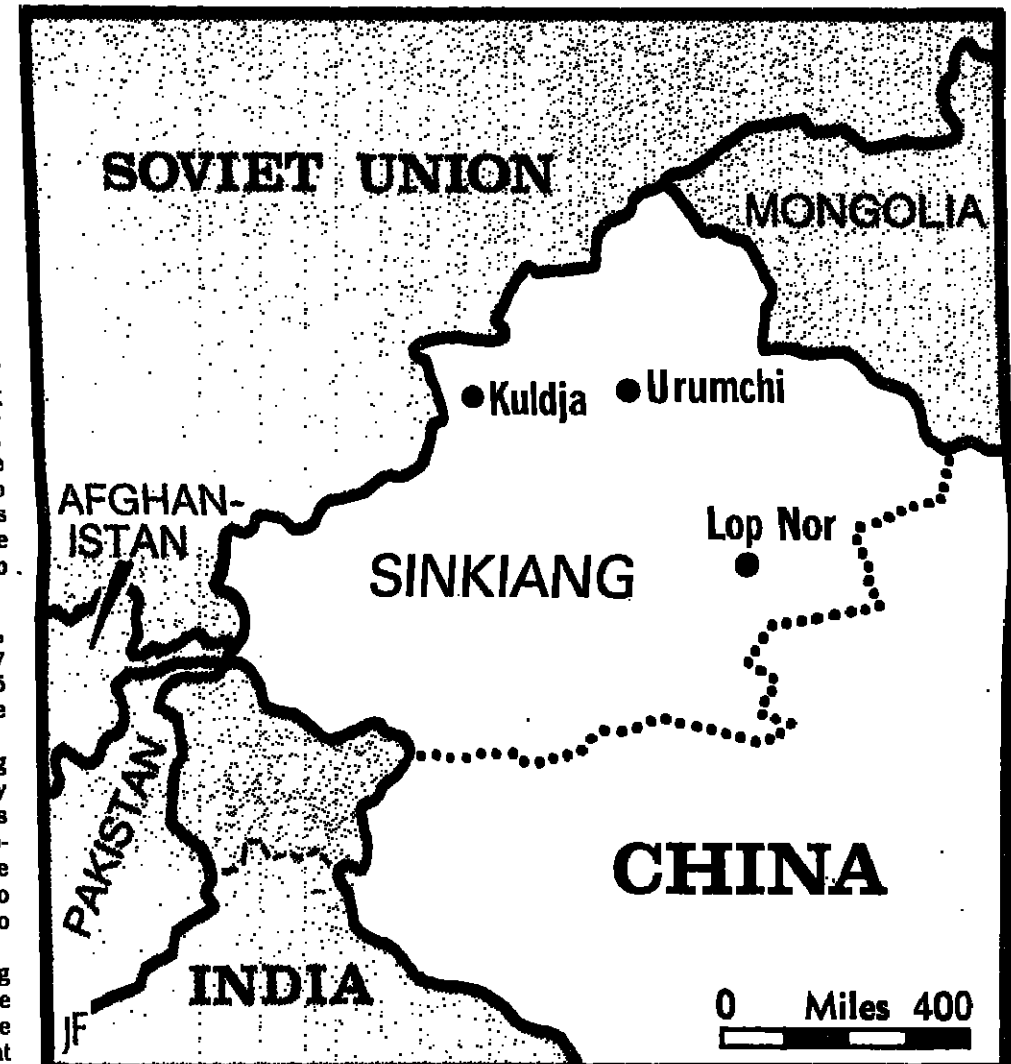
1955 only 5 percent of the population was Han Chinese, but by 1970 most foreign analysts had concluded that about half the people in Sinkiang were Han.

At that there may be 2 million or 3 million Han Chinese still not counted as permanent residents of Sinkiang, even though most of them will spend the rest of their days there. They fall into at least four categories: middle school graduates who have been sent there to work; civilians working for the People's Liberation Army; regular members of the Army; and people who have been sentenced to long terms of labor in prison camps.

If all residents of Sinkiang were counted, then, Han Chinese would be in the majority only 20 years after being a minority of 5 percent. Such rapid change is bound to cause problems.

From Peking's point of view the populating of Sinkiang with Han Chinese was probably necessary. A sparsely populated area, it was highly vulnerable to Soviet attempts at subversion or aggression, and the Han Chinese could be counted on to ignore Soviet appeals to Uighur nationalism. In addition, they bring to Sinkiang skills that are in short supply.

It is the Han Chinese who are the leading force of the state agricultural farms, the irrigation projects that are expanding the oasis areas of the vast deserts, the oil fields at Karamai, and in the new industrial plants.



By Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

From page 1

*New tremors from the old empires

The latest information is that the Chinese have not yet actually set up these weapons — perhaps out of caution. It just might be the deed that could trigger a Soviet "preventive strike" on China's entire nuclear-weapons system.

Another explanation could be the rivalry for influence in Southeast Asia. The Soviets are moving aggressively into the vacuum left by American withdrawal. The Chinese are obviously distressed to find so many Russians, so active, along their southern flank.

The Chinese answer includes having President Ford come to Peking. His visit is set for early December. But in agreeing to fix the

date the Chinese keep expressing their disapproval of the Kissinger policy of "détente" with Moscow. In this matter the Chinese stand shoulder to shoulder with America's most conservative conservatives. To both, the word détente has become anathema. In official Chinese phraseology the détente policy "only abets the ambitions of expansionism." Obviously, they would welcome some cooling of the Washington-Moscow relationship.

Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger shows no inclination to such a cooling. He is a disciple of the great German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck. The guiding, central rule of Bismarck's foreign policy was to "keep the lines open to St. Petersburg," Dr. Kissinger

never forgets to keep his own lines open to Moscow.

There is something of a pattern in all of this nontranquility 30 years after the end of World War II. That war knocked the foundations out from under all of the old empires. The superstructure in some cases outlasted the foundations. The Portuguese empire was the last of the classic empires to collapse. It will not be gone officially until Nov. 11 when Angola attains independence. But in fact there is nothing left of those empires that organized and more or less controlled the world a hundred years ago.

Colonialism is today out of date — and properly so.

From page 1

*Lebanon

With the charge of tribalism Mr. Jumblatt refers to the tradition of clan and family ruling the country which has led some of Maronite Christian President Suleiman Franjeh's many opponents to speak of him ironically as a "Godfather." The same charge has been made about Mr. Karami, Mr. Jumblatt, and most of the other predominant politicians.

Diplomats estimate that more than 150,000 Lebanese have fled as refugees to Syria, Jordan, Cyprus, Greece, and West Europe since acute fighting began in September.

Fighting abated slightly Wednesday morning, after a day and night in which at least 90 people were killed and more than 100 injured, especially in the downtown luxury hotel district.

From page 1

*Scotland hears the pipes of independence

Most Scots, it is believed, would not go that far. But there is widespread support for the idea of an elected Scottish assembly with genuine powers.

Would such an assembly

satisfy the majority and thereby lead to the waning of the Scottish Nationalists? No one can be certain. Some observers say the Nationalists might well win a majority in Scottish assembly elections.

In the last general election (October, 1974), Labour won 58 percent of the 71 Scottish seats with only 38 percent of the vote. The Conservatives won 22.5 percent with 24.7 percent of the vote, and the Nationalists only 15.5 percent although they had 36.4 percent of the vote.

Polls show Nationalist strength as having increased since then.

Some observers believe the only way to stop the Nationalists from winning an absolute majority in the proposed Scottish assembly would be to institute some form of proportional representation. This would dilute Nationalist strength by scattering votes among Labourites, Conservatives, and Liberals.

But neither Labour nor the Conservatives want proportional representation at the national level, where the Liberals, British's third nation-wide party, poll up to 5 or 6 million votes, yet end up with only 13 or 14 seats under the present winner-take-all system.

This then is Mr. Wilson's dilemma.

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To feed the swelling multitude

This fast-growing hemisphere has the potential to produce the food it needs

By Truman Becker
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Corn countries are more populous than pasture countries, and rice countries more populous than corn countries. But their happiness does not depend upon their being thinly or fully inhabited, upon their poverty or their richness, their youth or their age, but on the proportion which the populations and the food bears to each other.

Thomas Malthus, 1798

Washington — In Latin America, is the population growing disproportionately to the region's food supply? Is famine stalking millions of people?

Most agriculture experts agree that a Malthusian crisis is not likely in the foreseeable future. The reason: Latin America not only has a large, unexploited agricultural potential but also has thus far managed to feed itself and export food as well.

Yet in light of the area's population explosion, rural drift to the cities, and nutritional needs, there are telltale signs that severe hunger problems could loom unless action is taken by Latin American nations and international development agencies.

In gauging Latin America's population-food production squeeze, first let's look at its population explosion. According to the Latin American Demographic Center (CELADE), the region doubled its population between 1940 and 1970, having swelled from 126 million to 278 million.

Over the last 10 years, it increased its population by an average 6.7 million a year, which is equivalent to taking into its fold yearly the combined population of Uruguay, Paraguay, and Panama. All told, no region in the world has ever grown so fast, nor is one ever likely to do so.

Historically, Latin America's population followed the same path as that of most advanced countries. Historian Irene Taseuer, for example, wrote in 1944 that "the problems of future population are less acute in the western hemisphere than in any other major region of the world. Neither is the Malthusian pressure of a rapidly increasing population on limited resources a necessary characteristic of any portion of the New World."

But several years later, demographers — seeing the region's population galloping like a runaway stallion — switched from an attitude of confidence to consternation.

Growth rates compared

Latin America's population bellwether has been Continental Central America (Mexico, Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and

Truman Becker, who currently resides in Washington, served as special correspondent for the Monitor in Peru in the late 1960s.

Panama), which mushroomed from 26 million in 1940 to 67 million in 1970. Overall, its average annual growth rate over the last decade was 3.3 percent, signaling that it will double its population every 20 years. Costa Rica chalked up the highest average annual growth rate (3.5) of any Latin American country during 1950-70.

Tropical South America trailed behind Central America in upgrowth, with its population increasing from 65 million in 1940 to 150 million in 1970. During 1960-70, Ecuador and Colombia led the race in population growth (each with 3.3 percent a year), followed by Venezuela (3.2 percent), Peru (3.0 percent), Brazil (2.8 percent), and Bolivia (2.3 percent).

In the Caribbean, the Dominican Republic's population grew the fastest (3.3 percent a year) during 1960-70, followed by Haiti (2.0 percent), Cuba (2.0 percent), and Puerto Rico (1.8 percent). As a whole, the Caribbean nations have not quite doubled their populations over the last 30 years, having increased only from 11 million to 20 million. Finally, in temperate South America (Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, and Paraguay) population-growth rates have been relatively subdued, averaging only 1.8 percent between 1960-70.

Food needs explored

This accelerating increase in Latin America's population is due to a drop in the death rate — accompanying the spread of better sanitation and other public-health measures. This has not been compensated for by a corresponding decrease in the birthrate. Another population factor has been the decline in infant mortality with the result that the youthful portion of the population has ballooned.

Moreover, since many Latin Americans for religious and folklore reasons do not practice birth control, fertility and birthrates have been astronomical.

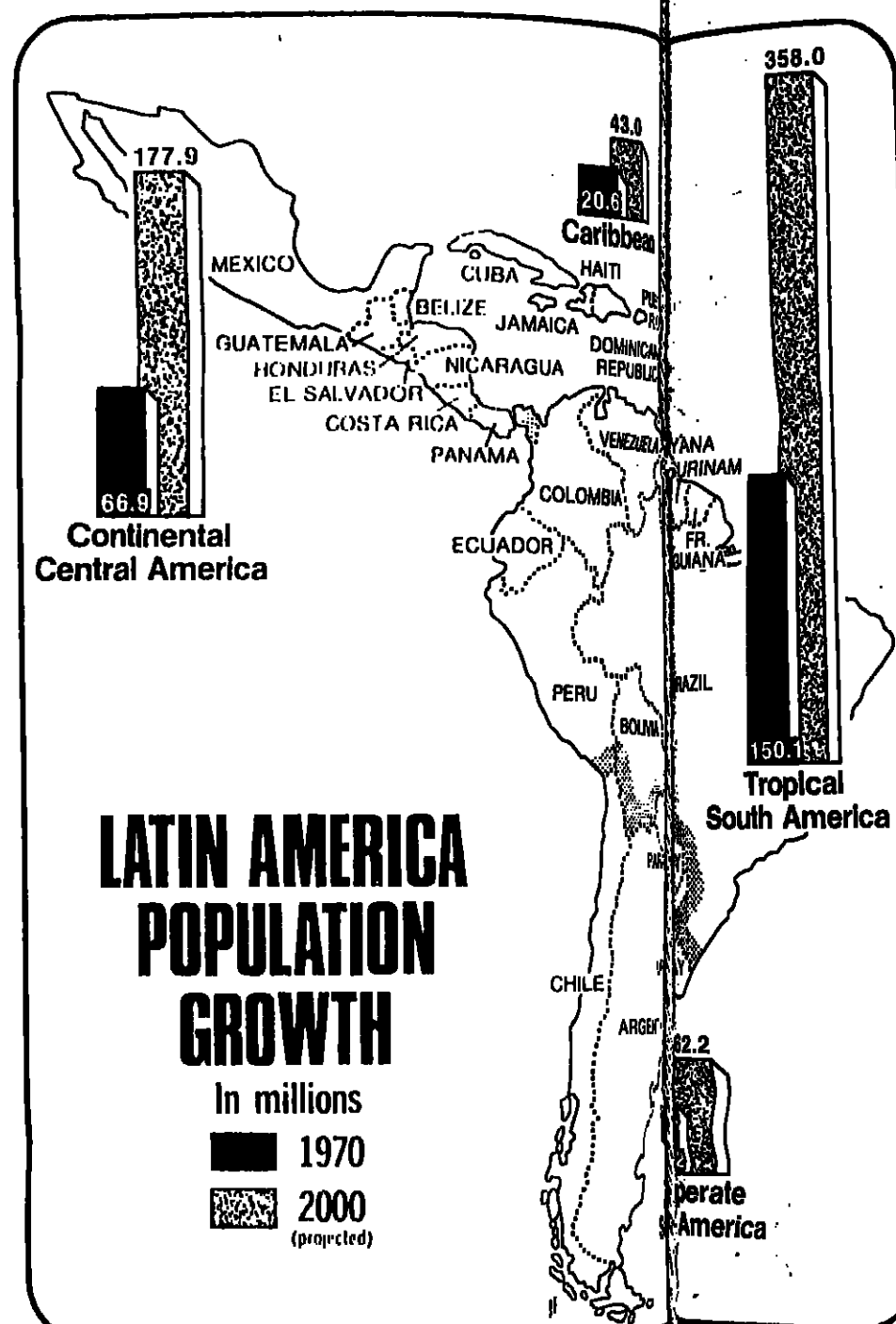
Gazing into the future, what will Latin America's population be in 2000?

According to a forecast made by CELADE, this region will have 645 million inhabitants. In fact, by 2000 it will outrank Europe (527 million) or the United States and Canada combined (354 million). Only Africa (788 million) and eastern and southern Asia (3,458 billion) will have larger populations.

If these estimates prove correct, Latin America's population will be greater than that of the Old World and twice as large as North America and Russia.

In 2000, Brazil will have as many people as Latin America had in 1960. Mexico's population will have outstripped Japan, as well as increasing its share of Latin America's population from one-sixth to one-fifth. Conversely, Argentina's share will have been reduced by one-half — from 11 percent in 1950 to 5.5 percent in 2000. In short, by 2000 the population pendulum will have swung from temperate South

Latin America



Source: Latin American Demographic Center

By Joan Forbes, staff artist

America to Central America and tropical South America.

Clearly, one of the cruelest impediments to economic development in Latin America is malnutrition. Rafael Moreno Torres, former vice-president of Chile's Corporación de la Reforma Agraria, has said that the one-third of Chile's population engaged in agriculture has the lowest wage levels in the country. In many instances, people in rural areas lack adequate food, adequate water, decent housing, or sewage facilities. While the average daily caloric intake per person for the country is 2,500 calories, the caloric intake for the rural population is only 1,800 calories a day, and the infant mortality rate is high.

Interplay between imbalances?

Dr. Joaquin Cravioto, a nutrition specialist at the Mexican School of Public Health, feels that malnutrition is an interplay between social, economic, and dietary imbalances. It is therefore impossible to improve diet without improving income distribution, employment, and sanitation.

Adding to Latin America's nagging food problem is the fact that food production is falling behind population growth. According to figures prepared by the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), total agricultural production in Latin America increased 5.7 percent between 1970 and 1973, which amounts to 1.9 percent annually. This expansion was less than the region's population growth, thus indicating that agricultural production on a per capita basis declined 1 percent. The net result: If Latin America is going to meet the needs of its growing population, it will have to export less food,

which is to create serious balance-of-payments problems for some nations.

How can Latin America boost food production to meet the needs of its people?

Antonio Ortiz, IDB's president, observed that "Latin America has abundant resources, not only sufficient to meet its own food needs but also to help meet the food needs of other regions, such as Africa and Asia. But the production capacity of most of the region's countries is being fully exploited. There are still many opportunities for enlarging the area under cultivation, increasing yields through the application of modern technology and the improvement of existing agricultural organization."

To release these potentialities, Mr. Ortiz says, "Latin American governments and international development agencies must place high priority on increasing food production and employment in rural socio-economic structures."

"Agricultural development must be based on the generation of employment, income, and land in rural areas," he said. "The existing patterns of land tenure, land use, and input distribution systems must be changed."

Finally, he said, "Land must be used more efficiently and the seeds of land reform must be sown."

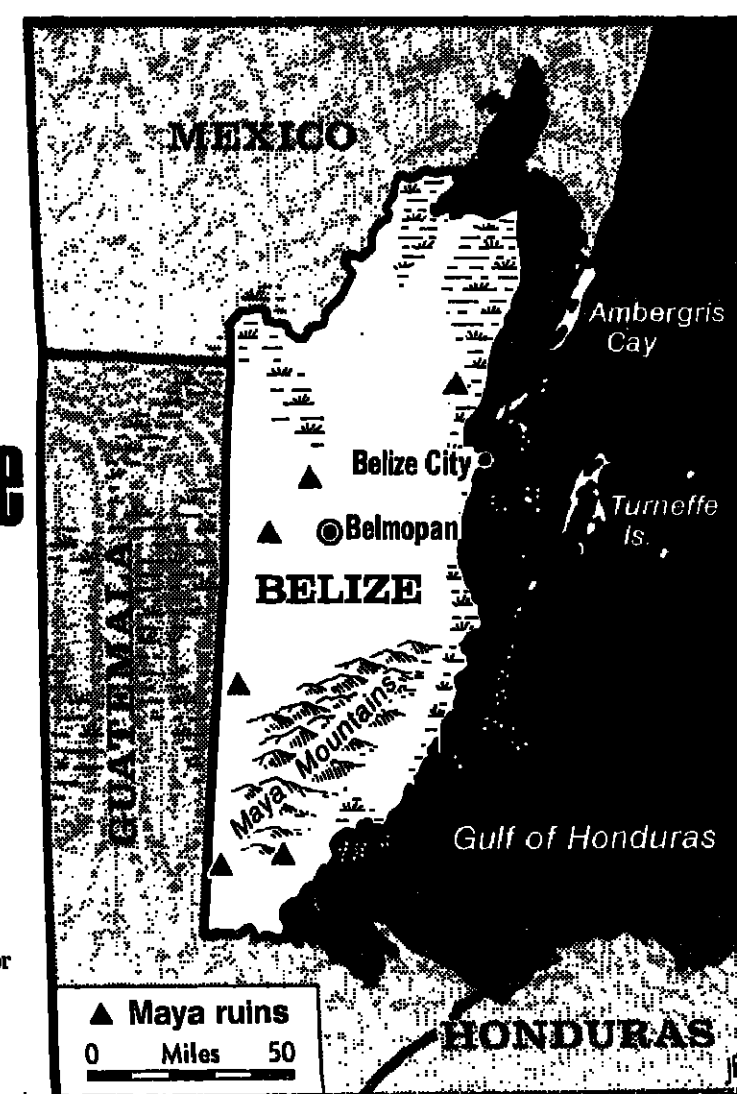
He added that the seeds of land reform must be sown more widely, and that the earth is the birthright of all human beings, not just the few.

Treading lightly toward independence

Next-door threat tempers the fervor

By James Nelson Goodsell
Latin America correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

British Honduras



By Joan Forbes, staff artist

For years the major radio station in British Honduras has called itself "the voice of the emerging nation of Belize in Central America."

But now, with independence at hand, the station has stopped using the phrase — clear evidence that many Belizeans are having second thoughts about taking the step.

It is not that they do not want independence. Most do. But they are less enthusiastic about the prospect because of threats from neighboring Guatemala which is pressing its claim to at least part of the long-time British colony.

Prime Minister George Price, the architect of independence, talks of approaching independence with the same fervor as always. But he is a realist, and he, too, worries about the Guatemalan threat.

So do the British who would like to rid themselves of the largest remaining piece of real estate from their onetime vast empire. But London is not prepared to give an independent Belize a defense guarantee as Prime Minister Price wants.

At the same time, Britain does not want to turn Belize loose until there is some sort of assurance that Guatemalan troops will not march across the ill-defined and ill-defended border some dark night.

New round of diplomacy

That prospect is more real to Belizeans now than ever. They note that Guatemala has begun a new round of hemisphere diplomacy to muster support among Latin Americans for its claim to the tiny enclave.

Mario Sandoval Alarcon, the Guatemalan vice-president, recently completed an extended tour of southern South America seeking aid for the Guatemalan cause. He visited Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay — trying to equate Guatemala's claim to Belize with Argentina's

claim to the British-held Falkland Islands.

All this took place, however, after the foreign ministers of nonaligned nations, meeting in Lima, Peru, had resolved to support Belizean independence. The ministers included those from the countries that Mr. Sandoval Alarcon visited.

On top of all this, Cuba has announced its support for Belize, promising assistance "in the case of an armed invasion."

For Belizeans, the attention they are

'We just wish we could move toward independence with assurance that we would have support [from Britain and the United States] if attacked.'

Belizean Prime Minister

getting is not entirely happy. "We just wish we could move toward independence," Prime Minister Price said recently, "with assurance that we would have support if attacked."

Mood of uneasiness grows

Basically, Mr. Price would like both British and United States support. But Washington, like London, appears unwilling to offer such support. In the U.S. case, it is a desire to keep on good terms with Guatemala that matters most.

In Belize, there is a growing mood of uneasiness. "We are just pawns," claims Dean Lindo, an opposition leader who rejects independence "for the time being." While Mr. Lindo and his supporters may not be a majority, they claim their movement is growing and they challenge Mr. Price to hold a plebiscite on the issue of independence.

Guatemala's claim to Belize or at least a portion of it dates back 150 years. Charging that Britain violated the 1859 treaty, setting the borders of the colony, because it did not construct a highway from the Caribbean coast to Guatemala City, Guatemala declared the treaty void in 1931. It has been in repeated negotiations with Britain ever since.

The latest Guatemala proposal, to slice the 8,900-square-mile colony in half, was rejected by the British in July, and there are currently no talks between Guatemala and Britain.

But Guatemalan sources say that Guatemala will seek further talks with Britain.

In recent months there has been a spate of rumors that there may be oil in parts of Belize.

Such a possibility could well be a major factor not only in furthering Guatemalan claims to the territory, but in developing the otherwise poor colony of 130,000.

Much of the population is composed of English-speaking blacks, but a sizable minority are Spanish-speaking Latinos and descendants of the ancient Maya Indians.

But Belizeans — even those of Latin origin — are generally firm on a desire to keep out of Guatemala's clutches, either as an independent nation or as a colony.

At the moment, it looks as if the colonial status will prevail for the immediate future, and while Prime Minister Price continues to chant the theme of independence, that step is probably a few years off.

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home

In the garden

Time to plan for spring

By Christopher Andreae

Eldroth, North Yorkshire

A thought or two about spring bulbs — the end of the year being the best possible time to start thinking about (and planting for) the beginning of the next.

Perhaps I should admit at the outset that it is the small kinds of spring bulb I like best. You can keep your tall, large-bloomed, heavy-headed narcissi and tulips, especially the giant double-frilly ones, all cooked up by some Dutch bulb-grower with an eye for the color-plates in his catalogue. For one thing these tend to be even more subject to flattening hail and wind than most other spring bulbs are, and for another they lack the combination of qualities that make these natural early flowers so distinctive: bravery and delicacy.

The range of small spring bulbs is enormous. Snowdrops, crocus, iris, anemones, dog's tooth violets, small narcissi, small tulips, anemones, scillas, chionodoxa, grape hyacinths, fritillaries, cyclamen, bulbocodium.

Obviously I can scarcely do more than touch on a few of them here. Now that bulbs are so expensive, it is certainly worth considering those which multiply easily and don't flourish the first year and then disappear over the next two or three.

Soil and climate, as well as position, are of course determining factors, but my own experience suggests that growing tulips, for example, is a somewhat dodgy business. This is a shame because there are some spectacularly beautiful "Species Tulips" — tulips native to Mediterranean countries like Turkey, Persia, Asia Minor and are not "Hybrids" or plants induced by man's cross-fertilization techniques. But they ideally need a sunny, very well-drained position, gritty loam, some protection from cold winter winds, and a good long baking in the hot sun in summer. Such conditions are not easily available where I live.

However, here are three I would give quite a lot to grow successfully: T. clusiana, the "Lady Tulip," no higher than a foot, white flowers striped red, having a kind of neat elegance; T. pulchella violacea, a real miniature, about 5 inches high, the flower cerise-violet in color with a dark base, rather globular, very early and long-lasting; and T. acuminata, known as the "Horned Tulip." The Horned Tulip is taller, about 20 inches, and is unusual for its tapered thin-flame petals.

There are a growing number of hybrids from species tulips, short, often brilliant in color, and which can spread if really happy. These are under the general names of Kaufmanniana, Greigii and Fosteriana. Everyone has their own favorites. If I were to suggest one other, for sheer dazzle (here I am getting carried away), it would be the scarlet T. praestans fustata. This has the two or three flowers per stem; most tulips only have one.

Tulips are effective planted in groups of five or more — as indeed are all small bulbs. Bone-meal mixed into the soil is good. And firm planting three or four inches down helps to stop them popping out of the ground in summer, not to mention protecting them from hungry mice.

Well worth growing in patches near the house, so as to be seen on a tingling day through a window, is Iris reticulata and its various offspring and near relatives. These vary in color from red-purple to blue-purple to pale blue-violet. And in the case of the shorter and very early I. hispidula major, are almost a true blue and I. danfordiae, is a true yellow. They respond well to division in late summer, each parent bulb being separated from its progeny. My own dozen are now about three dozen after this treatment last year, and in early spring it seemed that almost every bulb flowered — a mass of spidery purple flowers.



By R. Norman Matheny, staff photographer

Crocus and lingering snow

Everyone knows the usual, rather cumbersome, crocus — city-park orange and purple and white ones. I go more for the ones which naturalize well, and, after a year, cease to look as though I had just planted them — ones like C. tomasinianus (pale lavender/silver). I also have my eye on some of the strikingly marked C. chrysanthus hybrids — in particular "Lady Killer" which is white, marked outside with dark purple.

'Snowdrops (Galanthus) — at least one clump to signal the ineffectual harshness of even the worst January or February — is surely essential in any garden. The commonest is, I think, the finest: G. nivalis, with its double-flowered version a good second, G. nivalis plenius.

If you happen to have a stretch of grass under trees, snowdrops are among the best bulbs to spread and naturalize. A hundred bulbs in threes or fours, divided annually just after flowering (the wrong time to transplant any other bulb); could soon fill a field.

Just one further tip: shop around. Prices vary quite a lot.

children

A soldier for peace

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

United Nations, New York

Joe is a soldier, with a big difference. He has a gun, but he does not want to use it. He is part of an army, but he does not want to fight.

Joe's job, you see, is to stop other people fighting. So, for the moment, he works a long way from his real home, in a hot and sandy part of the world called the Middle East.

The people who live there have fought four wars in the last 28 years. So Joe's there now, with a whole lot of other soldiers from many different countries, trying to stop these people from fighting and killing each other in another war.

He wears a blue helmet or blue beret. And he often drives a white jeep which has two big blue letters painted on its side — UN. They stand for "United Nations."

Joe is a soldier in one of the United Nations' peace-keeping forces. These "blue berets" patrol backward and forward between the Arabs and the Israelis helping prevent another war from occurring.

The orders for peace-keepers like Joe all come from the large marble and glass buildings here in New York where I am writing this article. This is because New York is the United Nations headquarters, and preventing war is what the UN is all about.

After World War II some 30 years ago, most of the countries in the world got together and decided they would try to sort out their quarrels by talking and cooperating instead of fighting. Now there are 141 countries in the UN.

Their ambassadors, ministers, and diplomats do a lot of talking, much of it in an enormous hall here called the General Assembly.

If that does not work, the UN sometimes decides to send in peace-keeping soldiers like Joe. They are like ham in a sandwich — they keep the two sides apart.

Although encouraging people to live peacefully together is the United Nations' main aim, it does many other things as well.

The UN helps provide food as well as schools and teachers for thousands of children in poor countries. It does the same things for refugees (people who have no proper home or countries).

If you traveled around the world you might meet farmers who had been shown by United Nations agency how to grow better crops. You might even see atomic power plants which had been inspected by scientists from another UN agency.

You might talk to people who had been helped by the United Nations' health agency. You might hear concerts arranged by its cultural agency.

The UN and its agencies are involved in almost anything you can think of, from weather forecasting and protecting the environment to international mail deliveries and aviation.

Sometimes the UN does not work very well. Sometimes it does not work at all. Ideas, or good ideas, are not always easy to put into practice. But at least this ideal of all people living and working peacefully together has been spelled out; it sets a standard in countries to aim at.

David Anable is the Monitor's man at the UN.

Can you find and circle the hidden religions and churches?

They read vertically, horizontally, diagonally, forwards, and occasionally, even backwards.

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travel

Corsica: lush, craggy land

By Margaret Rhodes
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The infinite variety of France surprises even the traveler who has known and loved the country for a lifetime. And one of the most astonishing areas is the province that lies 100 miles south of the Riviera — Corsica, which is one of the largest islands in the Mediterranean.

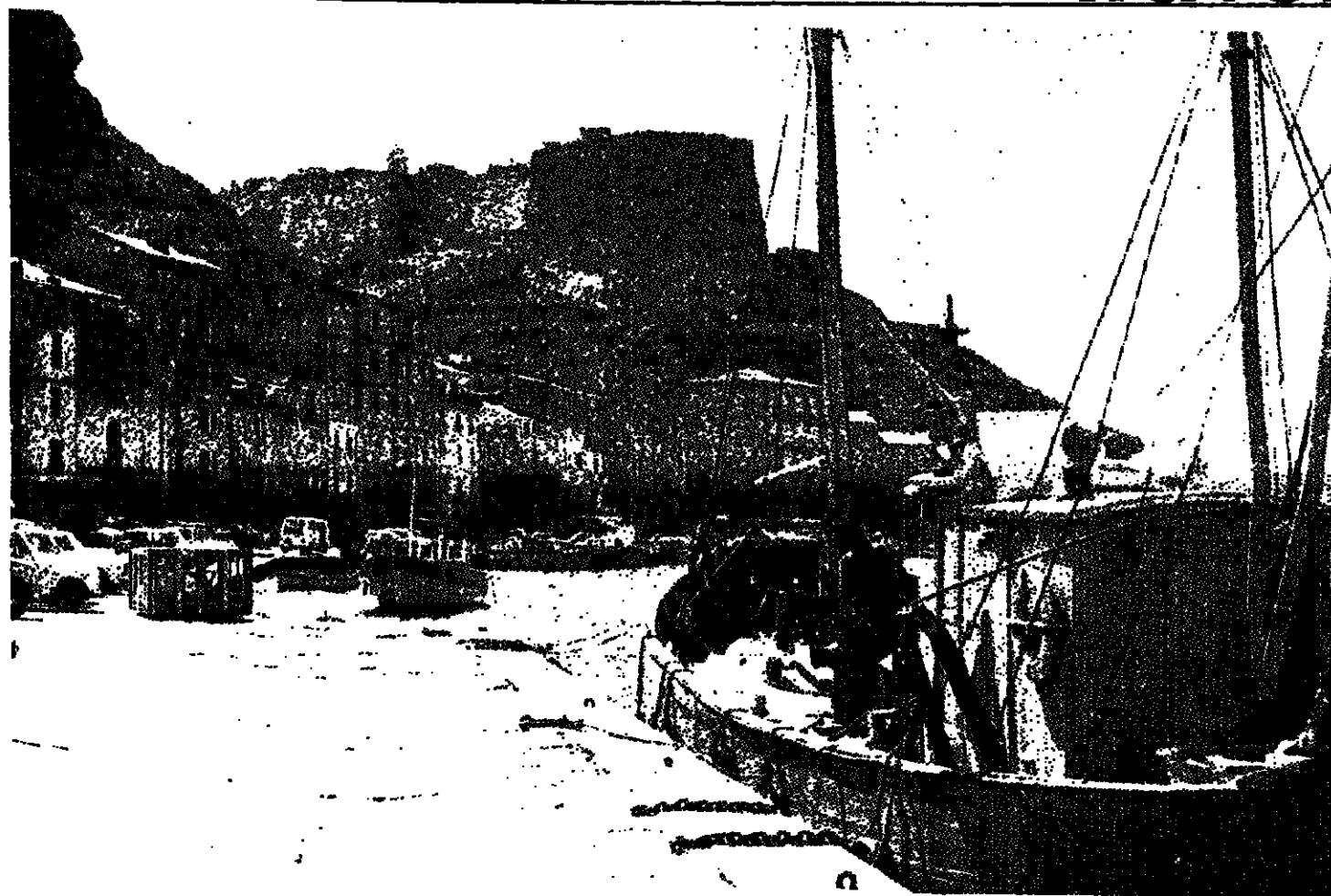
Probably the most beautiful of all the fabled islands of the western Mediterranean, Corsica is certainly overwhelming. Just over 100 miles long and half as wide, it is a wild, dramatic range of mountains thrusting up sheer from the sea and towering precipitously to nearly 9,000 feet. Apart from a narrow strip along its east coast, it is all crags and pinnacles, rushing torrents, boulder-strewn wilderness, and lush valleys; a secret world of wildflowers, where the heady scent of the maquis fills the air far out to sea.

Villages cling to rocky spurs and cluster on dizzy hillsides, roads loop and twist and zigzag in hairpin bends, cattle and horses, donkeys and pigs wander on the roads (for there are no moors or meadows) and are often the only other travelers to be met with in a whole morning.

This is surely what holidays are all about — an escape into a world so different from our own that long afterwards a little of the enchantment is left somewhere inside us.

Corsica can claim to satisfy a wide range of tastes in the holidaymakers who come by boat and plane to spend a week or two. There are hotels of every grade, from luxury ones in and around Ajaccio and Bastia and the chief tourist centers such as Calvi and Ile-Rousse, to the hospitable little inns found in the mountain villages.

There are more beaches than there are days in the year: for example the pale wide sands of resorts such as Propriano, or the innumerable coves, sheltered between rocky headlands, that are to be found all round the 600 miles of coast. Naturally, lovers of sea sports are well cared for — sailing, swimming, and skin



Genoese fortress towers over Bonifacio's small port

diving, snorkeling and water skiing are available; you can also take boat trips to neighboring islands such as Sardinia and Elba.

There are fascinating places to discover: the Genoese fortress-city of Bonifacio, with its high ramparts above the massive eroded cliffs and its sheltered boat-filled harbor from which the ferry plies the straits to Sardinia; Filitosa drowsing among its dolmens; towns such as Sartene, Ghisoni, and Corte, perched on precipitous crags and looking just as they did when Edward Lear painted them a hundred years ago; Porto, in an idyllic setting at the head of its glorious gulf; tranquilli St. Florent. The list is endless and the days are never long enough.

You can get to many interesting spots on the island by public transportation. There is a railway linking Ajaccio, Corte, and Bastia which provides a sensational trip through tunnels and over viaducts, a triumph of engineering as it winds ever higher, accomplishing, it seems, incredible feats of mountaineering. There are also coach tours, and a bus service radiates from the main towns.

But to discover the heart of Corsica you really need your own transportation. The ferry boats from Marseilles (11 hours) and Nice (6½ hours) to Ajaccio or Bastia provide excellent drive-on drive-off facilities for your own car. Otherwise there are fly-and-drive package holidays available (Corsica is 2 hours from Paris by air). A car may be booked ahead to be waiting at the quay or airport and there are reputable car hire firms to be found on arrival in the main centers.

Remember when planning a tour in the interior that 100 miles is quite enough for one day — at the end of it you will feel you have done far more — and that an average speed of 20 to 25 miles an hour is about as much as anybody can achieve.

When, for example, you are climbing at around 4,000 feet, alone in a world of mountains and with a precipice falling away at the

roadside for hundreds of feet, it is no use being in a hurry: your whole being is concentrated on three simple things — a determination not to look over the edge, a hope that no cheery Corsican driver will come belting round the next blind bend, and a proper appreciation of one's fantastic surroundings.

Hillsides of anemones, hellebores, asphodels; woods carpeted with rosy wild cyclamen; vistas of range upon range of mountains; glimpses of ravines; and high above, the great jagged crests, all combine in heart-stopping splendor.

Every drive into the interior of the island is magnificent, but there are certain drives that must on no account be missed. One is the easy day trip (by Corsican standards) that takes in the Forêt de l'Ospedale with its great rocky outcrops and the spectacular Col de Bavella. For this the mountain village of Zonza or Porto Vecchio on the coast would make a good base. Either way, turn inland at Solenzara, so that the great serrated peaks may be seen ahead rearing into the sky as you climb steadily up to the Col de Bavella.

On these inland expeditions simple inns offer cheerful hospitality, a chance to taste regional dishes, and good value.

A meal to remember in Avignon

By Kimms Hendrick
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor
Avignon, France.

Avignon is one of history's gold mines. It is a door to Provence, once a kingdom with its own language, and with historic towns like Orange, Arles, Nîmes, and Aix. What is more, the food is sumptuous.

Avignon is an especially good stopover point for Eurailpass holders traveling between Paris and Geneva, or to such varied destinations as Italy, the French Riviera, and Spain.

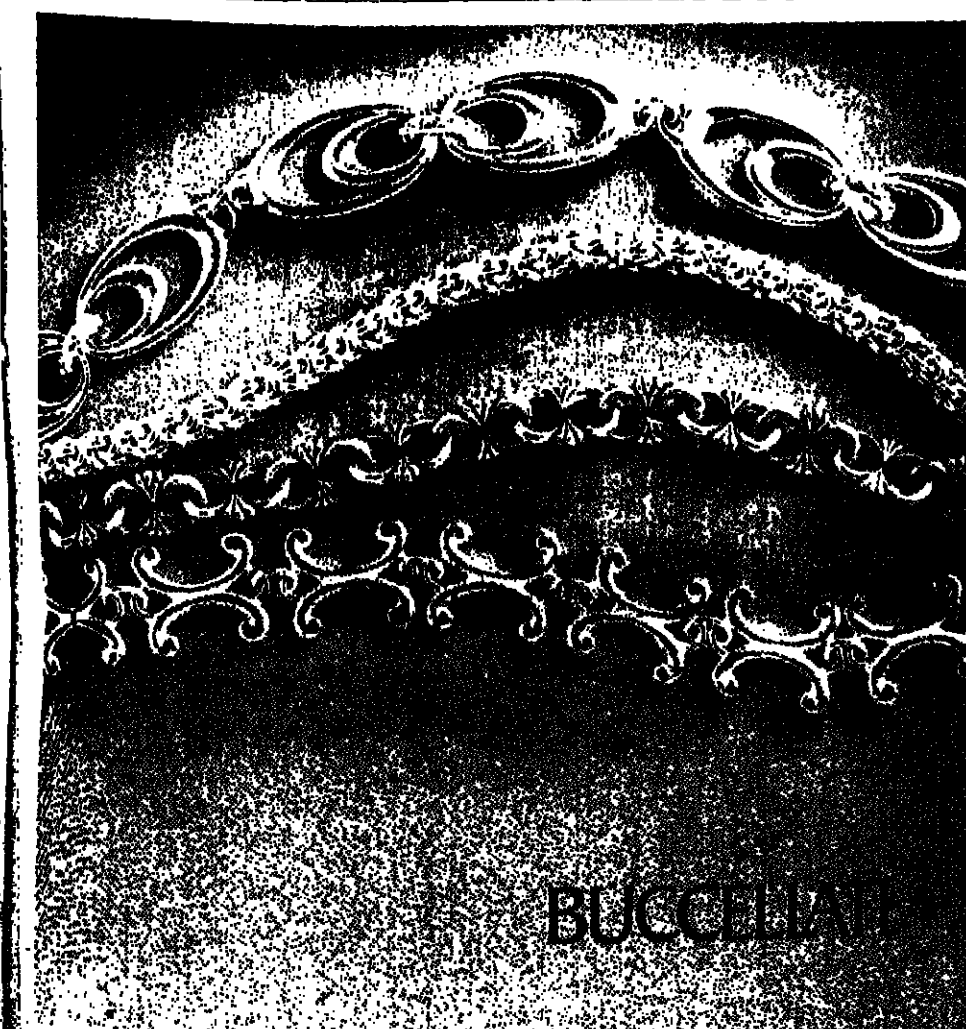
We arrived in Avignon on a Sunday. As we entered the walled city, we told ourselves there would be plenty of hotel space. But the Bristol-Terminus, which had been highly recommended, was full. The polite desk clerk recommended the less expensive Midi, just down the street, and on the way we found the even less expensive Central, with charming rooms individually decorated for about \$17, double occupancy without bath. From the top level, Hotel Europe, down a long list of accommodations we could have paid more or less.

At the Central, we were 10 minutes by foot from the Palace of the Popes, that amazing reminder of feudal France and of portentous church schisms. Next to the palace we found the Auberge de France, a small hotel with a superb restaurant. It had been highly recommended in "Hand-Me-Down," Louise A. Bates's highly reliable travel guide, and was so popular we had to make a dinner reservation hours ahead.

French cuisine, to our taste, generally has a reputation that exceeds its quality. But now and then a place like the Auberge de France justifies all enthusiasm. Everything was cooked to order. The service was perfect. And the price for a fine dinner? About \$3 each.

The following morning we took a 30-minute bus ride to Orange where we bought rolls, ham, and cheese in a grocery store and picnicked for lunch in a sunny park. Then we visited the city's famous Roman theater.

It has been called the most handsome reminder of its kind of the days of Augustus, and it gave us a clearer picture of Roman luxury than anything we had seen before. Louis XIV, centuries after it was built, aptly called its facade "the finest wall in my kingdom." The theater's 10,000 seats now are used only in summers for festivals, but just to see it seemed to us a festival experience.



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science

On the fringe of extinction—the sea cow

By John Dillon
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Merritt Island, Florida
Two teen-agers were rowing their small boat along a Florida creek when a half-dozen mammoth, blubbery-looking creatures suddenly surfaced. One of the beasts, swimming closer, lifted the boat and its occupants momentarily out of the water like a toy. Then the animals swam slowly toward open water.

The teen-agers had encountered one of the rarest endangered species in the United States — the Florida manatee.

The legendary manatee, believed to be the source of mermaid stories among ancient mariners, has survived along the coast of Florida for an estimated 50 million years. But the next 50 years could be its last.

Boat propellers are killing manatees — known popularly as sea cows — at an alarming rate. Vandals drop bricks on them from bridges and shoot them with rifles and bows and arrows. Poachers slaughter them for meat.

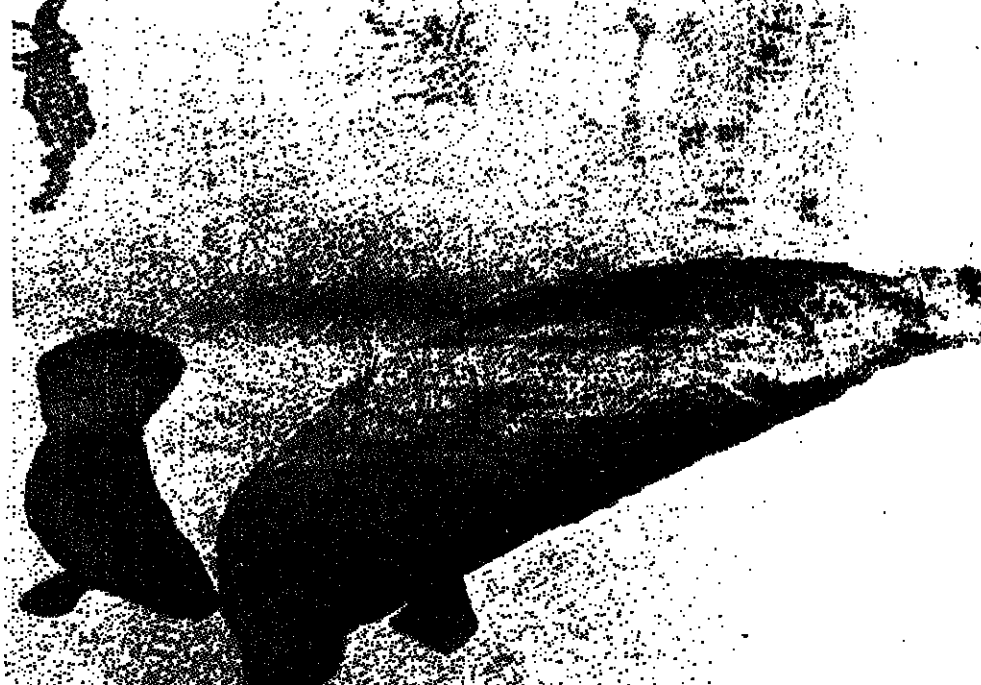
Florida's growing population is putting so much pressure on the animal that its survival is in doubt. Wildlife officials estimate that only 600 are left in the state's waters.

The manatee is a unique link in the world's biological chain. Along with their look-alike cousins, the dugong, manatees are the world's only surviving aquatic mammals that live exclusively on a diet of vegetation. Their closest relative, ironically, is not in the sea, but on land — the elephant.

And both the manatee and the dugong are dying out around the world.

In the Pacific and Indian Oceans, dugongs have been killed extensively for their meat. They have virtually vanished from the waters of the Philippines, Borneo, the Marshall Islands, and parts of India and Sri Lanka.

And along the West African coast and in the Caribbean, manatees have been overhunted for their meat, hides, and bones. The meat is reported to be delicious, with various parts having the flavor of chicken, beef, and pork. The hides, once used as shields by warring



This baby manatee was one of the first to be born in captivity

Courtesy of the Miami Seaquarium

Indian tribes, make excellent shoes. The bones, three times as dense as those of most animals, are valued as ivory.

Manatees reproduce so slowly that it is doubtful they could ever be of much commercial value on a sustained basis. But this has not discouraged hunters.

In South America, the Amazonian manatee, a landlocked freshwater species, has been slaughtered by the thousands and now is greatly depleted.

All this slaughter contrasts sharply with the placid nature of the beasts.

In many ways, they resemble cows. Their major interest is eating, and like land cows they browse for hours each day. Although large (up to 1,500 pounds), they are a docile "Ferdinand" of the seas, neither harmful nor fearful.

A human swimmer, intruding onto a herd of manatees, is often greeted warmly — sometimes with a manatee "kiss." One skindiver reported having his face smacked off repeatedly by an affectionate thousand-pounder.

Florida has protected these gentle creatures since 1907, but still their numbers have fallen. Their major enemy in the warm, green waters of Florida is the propeller. Pleasure boats racing at 30 and 40 miles an hour wound the animals as they rise to breathe, or as they swim just below the surface at an average 1 m.p.h.

A survey of 80 manatees in Volusia and Citrus counties found that over 90 percent of the animals had propeller scars. One animal had been hit eight times.

Dr. Howard Campbell, a manatee specialist at the National Wildlife Laboratory in Gainesville, Florida, says that of 30 manatees known killed in the past year, 80 percent were killed by boats.

Some conservationists suggest that if boats can be slowed in certain areas to 5 m.p.h. during the winter months, accidents involving manatees could be virtually eliminated. But such restrictions would probably face still opposition.

Dr. Campbell and others hope to find ways of protecting the manatee by better understanding their habits and needs.

This fall, Dr. Campbell will be attaching radio and sonic tags to a number of the mammals to study migratory patterns. Some manatees, for example, are known to winter in Florida and summer in North Carolina, while others winter here and summer in Louisiana.

With the help of such studies, Dr. Campbell may be able to pinpoint critical habitat areas where protection is most important.

So little is known about the manatee that it could take years to get a better understanding of the creatures. How, for example, does the manatee live comfortably in both saltwater and fresh? And why does its meat keep for days without refrigeration?

The next few decades could be man's last chance to answer such questions, suggests Dr. Campbell, for unless something is done the manatee could go the way of the Steller sea cow, which now is extinct.

The Steller's sea cow, also a manatee, weighed as much as 40,000 pounds. Within years of its discovery in the 18th century, hunters had eradicated the entire species.

How fossils misled experts

By Robert C. Cowen

Over the past decade, scientists have convinced themselves that earthly life is far older than they once believed. A trail of fossil algae and bacteria leads back nearly three and a half billion years.

But the evidence is hard to find and tricky to read. Now the scientist who has shed one of the strangest lights into the distant past warns that he and others have been misled by some of the shadows. What is considered a billion-year-old evolutionary landmark, the oldest fossil ancestor of the higher plants and animals, turns out to be an artifact of misinterpretation.

It is an example of how experts stumble because even they can't keep up with all the new knowledge in their field.

The scientist is Elso S. Barghoorn of Harvard University. During the 1950s and early '60s, he and Stanley A. Tyler of the University of Wisconsin showed that primitive algae and bacteria existed billions of years ago. Their summary paper in 1965 ended the era when evolution was thought too slow to have produced such organisms that early.

In 1966, Dr. Barghoorn and J. William Schopf, then a graduate student, also reported the now questionable fossils, found in Australia's Bitter Springs formation.

Scientists recognize two basic organic life-styles. The more primitive forms, now a minority, are cells with diffuse content. The more advanced forms use cells which are complex chemical systems with discrete centers of action and a tightly organized central nucleus. This

nucleus contains most of the genetic material through which evolution operates. Only nucleated cells could evolve sexual reproduction and the diversity of higher organisms to which it has led.

These latter first appear in the fossil record during the Cambrian period, which began some 550 million years ago. They appear as suddenly as though they had dropped in from outer space. Scientists thought they had at last found ancestors in fossil nucleated cells of the Bitter Springs and some older formations.

But Dr. Barghoorn became suspicious when similar fossils showed up in deposits two billion years old. That was too old even for him. As he and his colleague Andrew H. Knoll report in the journal Science, laboratory tests show that such fossils are likely to be remnants of the primitive algae with diffuse cells. The decay in a way that makes the cells appear to have nuclei, which is what has fooled paleobotanists. So while fossil microbes still lead billions of years into the past, scientists must look now for signs of the first nucleated cells.

"Ten years ago, we just didn't know what the differences between the two types of cell really are," Dr. Barghoorn explains. "Specialists knew, but the rest of us had not yet absorbed the knowledge. So I fell into what seemed a logical interpretation at the time."

That interpretation, which itself seemed heretical, now has gotten into the textbooks. So Dr. Barghoorn again is shaking up conventional wisdom. "What science is all about," he says, "the controversy is all to the good."

people/places/things

Manila shantytown: planning a better life

Habitat, the United Nations Conference-Exposition on Human Settlements, opens in Vancouver next May. High on its agenda is the problem of the millions of people who flood into the cities of the "third world" to establish overcrowded, unsanitary, squatter shantytowns.

As a preliminary to the conference, the International Architectural Foundation has organized a worldwide competition and has invited architects and planners to submit designs for a model community for these settlers. The winning design will be built in the Philippines capital where it will be used to house some of the 170,000 people now crowded together on the 365 acres of land which forms the district of Tondo.

In the volumes of academic discussion which have surrounded the competition one vital important factor has been totally overlooked — the people of Tondo themselves and the wit and wisdom which keeps them battling for better conditions.

By Jo McBride
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Manila
Tondo on a Sunday morning resembles a site on which a circus is about to go up. Music blares from the odd transistor radio, laundry bunting flaps in the breeze, and children run around muddy pathways while oddly shaped trucks trundle through taking oddly shaped cargoes to and from the nearby docks.

A strange sense of dislocation probably overtook the keen young town planner who visited this sprawling, overcrowded shantytown.

Armed with his copy of the program issued by the International competition's organizers,

he probably felt that he already knew something of the style and tempo of the place and so headed first for the office of the Tondo Foreshore Development Authority.

He probably never found it. For although the authority has powers to control almost every aspect of the Tondo people's future — from homes to jobs, from education to roads — few residents know where its office is. Increasingly desperate inquiries, consultations with neighbors, diagrams drawn in the slime will all be to no avail unless they attract the attention of a strolling representative of officialdom.

But inquiries as to the location of Zoto (the Zone One Tondo Organization), or any of its resident organization counterparts, will attract a small crowd of residents, all of whom know the quickest route in and out of the scrap-built "barong-barong" dwellings and end with the Tagalog equivalent of that well-known exhortation, "You can't miss it."

Seemingly the authors of the competition design program, the prestigious North American firm of Gutheim, Seelig & Erickson, did manage to miss it and miss it wholesale. Its document assured competitors that "community organization is the key to more efficient measures of economic and environmental improvement," a theme widely echoed by the people of Tondo.

But arrest and imprisonment has often followed on their voicing of such sentiments in the past, with people such as Zoto president, Mrs. Trinidad Herrera, being picked up for alleged subversion or inciting the people to riot six times since martial law was declared in the Philippines three years ago.

"The government does not seem to know the difference between subversion and acting



Photos by Jo McBride

Youths help to build a road in Manila's Tondo district

because something directly affects our lives," she says wearily.

The design brief also pointed to the foresight of the Philippine authorities in selecting the Dagat-Dagatan resettlement site as it will "provide the necessary environment for upgrading the squatters' living conditions," and is only a couple miles to the north of the present site.

It forgets to mention that the site was chosen by the people of Tondo themselves. It was only after a long and bitter struggle by the Tondo community organizations that the Philippine Government was persuaded that Dagat-Dagatan — an area then covered entirely by fish-farming ponds — could be used as a squatter relocation area.

That was three years ago. Before that there had been plans to move the squatters to out-of-town relocation sites such as those at Carmona or Sapaong Palay which are far away from people's work places in the docks.

Indeed, had it not been for the fortuitous publication of research findings by the Southeast Asian sociologist, Mary Hollnsteiner, showing that 80 percent of all squatters relocated outside Manila had to move back into the city to find work, the government might still be arguing.

The people of Tondo came up with Dagat-Dagatan as their suggested resettlement site when they had seen — and many of them had worked on — the filling-in of parts of Manila Bay to create a new international container port. Why not, they asked, fill in the fish ponds, too?

Since then they have worked hard to educate themselves on planning matters, running "technical seminars" and inviting architects, social scientists, and anthropologists to work with them on planning their future. And when information has failed to persuade the powers-that-be, they have taken more direct action.

It is hard to see them as the "people who have yet to find a satisfactory adjustment to conventional urban life," as the design brief suggests. Infuriated by the flouting of an official promise that none of their number would be evicted from Tondo until the Dagat-Dagatan site was ready, almost 8,000 Tondos marched on the presidential palace last November.

It takes some courage to march in the Philippines where public demonstrations are forbidden unless a permit has been granted in advance. But President Marcos is an exceptionally astute politician and he agreed to see eight Tondo community leaders to discuss their grievances.

The meeting at the presidential palace met with some success. President Marcos told the Tondo leaders that he was "the ultimate planner" and ordered a stop to the evictions.

Yet these are the disorganized people for whom the planners must "propose and specify the type of community organization to be established."

A deep religious feeling helps bind the

Tondoans together and a number of dedicated, young Roman Catholic priests have chosen to make their parish in the Tondo. Despite an occasional derisive finger pointed at the religious establishment, the people are unwavering in their dedication to the church.

While a few fortunate residents get their daily needs from public faucets, others must buy their water from itinerant peddlers at 50 centavos for a five-gallon can. Laundry is usually done in the water provided by the Manila Metropolitan Water Board's cracked pipes which have flooded part of the area.

The Tondoans want toilets, bedrooms, living rooms, and kitchens. As planner Rosawo Paderson, deputy director of the Tondo Foreshore Development Authority, acknowledges: "What they want is the basic sanitary core; after that they can do all the adaptations for themselves."

Around that basic sanitary core they would also like to have a little patch of land on which they can grow vegetables or raise chickens, which, through eating or selling, provide a vital supplement to family earnings.

The average household income in Tondo ranges from almost nothing to more than 1,000 pesos a month. More fortunate families may have one of their number employed by a company, usually in the docks. Others work as building laborers, rubbish dump scavengers — who enjoyed a temporary boom in their scrap-paper business during the recent world shortage of newsprint — and hawkers who peddle everything from government lottery tickets to single pieces of chewing gum.

Even families at the top of the scale must pay out around one-third of their income for food alone, and many are worried about the amounts they may have to pay for their new dwellings, be they in Dagat-Dagatan or in the refurbished Tondo.

As a pre-"Habitat" African and Asian UN regional conference on housing heard in June, the bulk of the housing effort in third-world countries comes from the people themselves and is not aided by grants.

The people of Tondo do not see themselves as experimental guinea pigs; and while they readily acknowledge that there is a planning job to be done, they see this as aimed more at rationalizing and balancing their expressed desires rather than imposing something on them from the outside.

The architectural competition ended this week. And even though the people of Tondo may not be on the panel which will make the final selection, they will have a major impact on what is finally built.

Once the World Bank was committed to helping the Dagat-Dagatan scheme, for example, they wrote to its Washington, D.C., headquarters and got Philippine living in the United States to do some heavy follow-up work.

Now the World Bank consults not only the officials but the people's organizations, too. When they want something, the people of Tondo find some way to make their voices heard.

Uranium producers may form cartel

By Bruce Myles
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
The possibility of a cartel of uranium-producing nations has stirred concern and investigative activity here.

For the short term, price-fixing is the major concern because the U.S. will probably not be dependent on significant quantities of imported uranium until the mid-1980s.

Lawyers at the U.S. Department of Justice and other experts in government and industry are concerned about what effect suspected cartel could have on U.S. uranium prices and thus on the cost of nuclear-generated electricity to consumers.

A uranium embargo against the U.S. seems unlikely, however, because the nations which some believe are potential participants in such a cartel are major U.S. trading partners.

Great Britain, Canada, Australia, France, and South Africa, listed by the Justice Department as possible members of the cartel, would not risk economic retaliation by extorting the U.S. for nuclear power technology, most experts believe.

The Justice Department, which has been investigating the alleged cartel, hopes to stop it if it can prove that the cartel is affecting U.S. commerce.

The U.S. imports no uranium today, but the price of its own uranium may be affected by foreign interests in domestic uranium mines. Canada's Rio Algom, for example, has \$100 million invested in Colorado uranium mines, according to a source at the Justice Department.

Despite the U.S. embargo on foreign uranium imports for domestic use, foreign producers are able to affect domestic uranium prices by exchanging foreign-produced for domestic uranium at processing plants in the U.S., the Justice Department source adds.

The probe of the uranium cartel will be "long and difficult," a Justice Department official concedes. When and if a strong case is made against it, the government could fine cartel members, including U.S. producers if they are involved, and if necessary, seize the U.S. bank accounts of foreign companies to collect the fines.

A stronger weapon against the cartel would be to break the contracts for enrichment services its members have signed with the U.S. government, which supplies at least 90 percent of the world's enriched uranium for nuclear power.

But Chauncy Starr, president of the Electric Power Research Institute, the research arm of electric utilities, expresses doubt that the government can do much about an informal agreement among uranium producers to fix prices. He says that cartel members actually are governments working with private companies.

John Patterson, a nuclear fuel expert with Energy Research and Development Administration, agrees with Mr. Starr that foreign uranium producers have been setting prices, but says, "There is less need to push up prices today because they are rising so fast."

Uranium prices are two to three times what they were in 1974, he notes. He added that the U.S. could be short of uranium by 1985 or sooner if it does not develop its own mines fast enough and if Americans do not cut their energy consumption.

Mr. Patterson questions whether a foreign cartel could control uranium supplies for very long, because nations like Australia will expand production. And as world demand grows, countries with smaller and, as yet, unknown uranium deposits will begin producing, he holds.

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New films present the other face of Australia

By John Douglas Pringle

Sensitive Australians have long winced at their international reputation as sports-mad Philistines. It is no use their protesting that their opera company is excellent, for no Briton or American has heard it, or that they have a flourishing school of young writers, for no one has read their novels, or that Sydney and Melbourne are bursting with talented painters, for no one has seen their work.

They are generally reduced to muttering the names of Patrick White and Sidney Nolan and leaving it at that.

Two recent developments, however, may help to prove to a skeptical world that Australia is not entirely a cultural desert. Those who are interested in contemporary music are already aware that in the last few years Australia has produced a number of highly talented composers.

Only three of these, Peter Sculthorpe, Don

produced an opera by Peter Sculthorpe and has commissioned one by Richard Meale which is awaited with some excitement.

The second development, however, will, if successful, reach a far wider audience. That is the revival of the Australian film industry which, after a promising beginning, became almost moribund in the 1950's and '60's. Recent Federal Governments, both Liberal and Labor, have spent considerable sums in subsidizing the industry through the Australian Film Commission, and the State Government of South Australia has its own South Australian Film Corporation which does the same thing.

An even more imaginative step, which in the long run may bring higher dividends, was to set up a film school in Sydney with Federal Government funds and to appoint Professor Jerzy Toeplitz, the former director of the famous Polish film school at Lodz, as its head.

It was perhaps unfortunate that the first films produced in the new era tended to confirm the worst prejudices held by foreigners about Australia. Films like "Alvin Purple," "Petersen," "Stork," and the two Barry Humphries films about "Bazza McKenzie," though the last two were undoubtedly very funny, did give the impression of a crude society in which beer-drinking, fighting, and a rather brutal sex were the chief interests.

There was a tendency to rely too heavily on the work of David Williamson, Australia's most talented dramatist, who has deliberately concentrated on this beer-and-bash side of Australian life. A film of his play, "The Removalists," which was produced in London and New York, has just been released. He also wrote the scripts for "Stork" and "Petersen."

Recently, however, there have been signs of better things. Michael Thornhill's "Between Wars" is a sensitive study of love and marriage among ordinary Australians in the years between 1919 and 1939, though it has not been a commercial success. Ken Hannan's "Sunday Too Far Away" is a much stronger film about sheep shearers — a unique Australian phenomenon — in the outback. It has very little story and that, perhaps, not very good; the strike at the end of the film is tacked on as an after-thought. But it is directed with such complete but understated realism and authenticity that it makes a powerful impression.

It also has Australia's one genuine film-star in the main part — a tough, likeable young man called Jack Thomson with a wide grin and a mobile, expressive face who has the rare ability to appear absolutely convincing as a shearer or an electrician (in "Petersen").



The Appleyard girls: strange doings at Hanging Rock

But now a young man called Peter Weir, who had previously directed the highly original little film, "The Cars That Ate Paris," has made a film of far greater artistic quality which seems certain to win international acclaim. It is called "Picnic at Hanging Rock" and is based on a novel by the Australian writer Joan Lindsay which in turn was based on something which really happened in the State of Victoria in 1900.

It is a mystery story about the young ladies of Appleyard College who, on St. Valentine's Day in 1900, go for a picnic at Hanging Rock, a volcanic outcrop in the bush near Melbourne. Three of the girls and one of their teachers disappear during the picnic. One is found several days later, bruised and unconscious but still alive. The others are never seen again.

The film is beautifully photographed — a kind of Australian "Elvira Madigan" with the girls in their white muslin frocks moving gracefully against the rough grandeur of the Australian bush to the strange music of George Zamphir's Pan Pipes and Beethoven's 5th piano concerto. But it also has considerable power. There is the mystery itself: was

it all a dream or a brutal assault and murder is there some other explanation?

There is also a quite subtle exploration of the emotional and psychological conflicts between the girls and their teachers and two young men who happen to be present when the girls disappear. (There is a stunning scene as the girl who is found comes back to the school and is immediately attacked by the other girls, who release their fears and frustrations in wild questions which she cannot answer.)

The cast is strengthened by the English actress, Rachel Roberts, as the headmistress, and the young English actor, Dominic Guard, who appeared in "The Go-Between," but the honours clearly go to the Australian director and photographer and the Australian girls, most of them quite unknown, who play the chief parts. This is a haunting film which can only raise Australia's reputation among film goers everywhere.

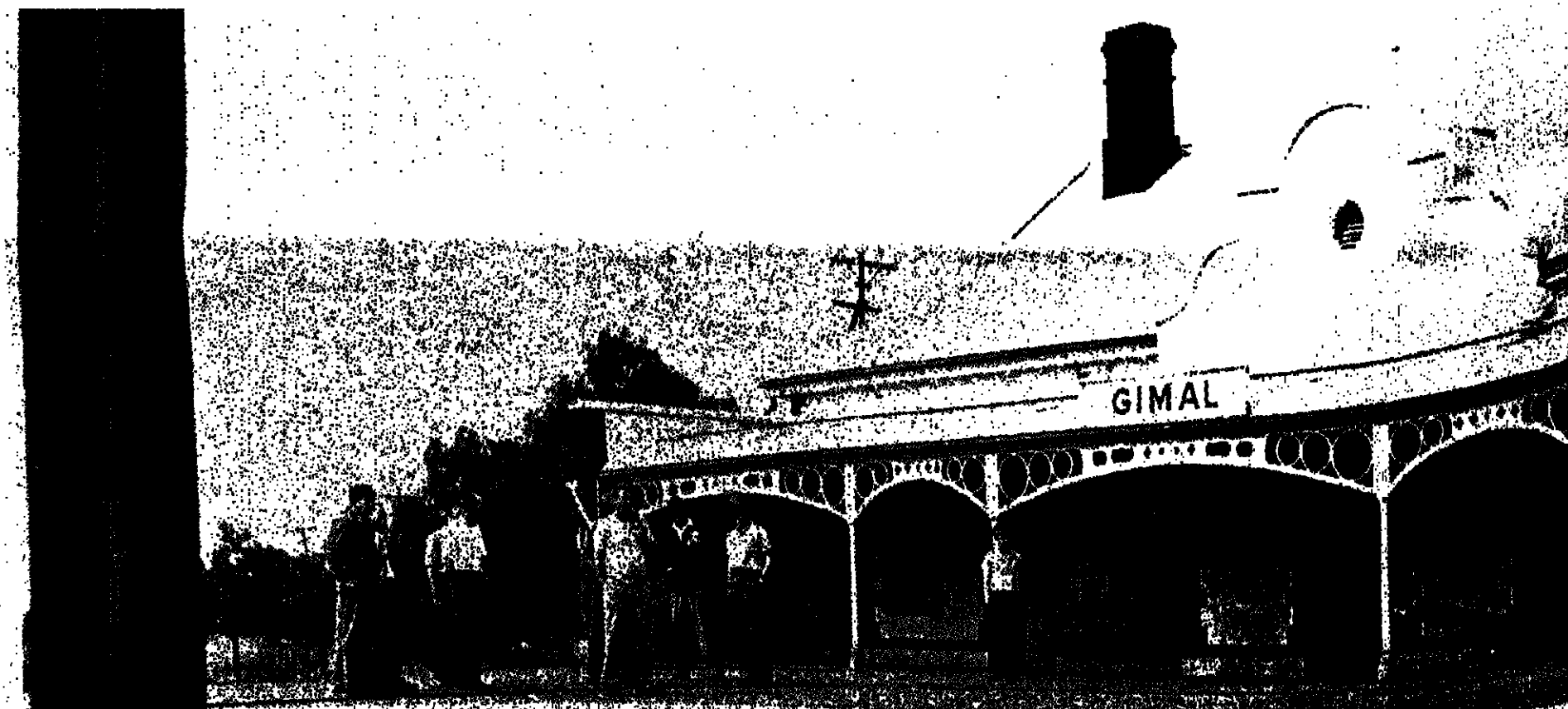
John Douglas Pringle was deputy editor of The Observer (London) from 1958-60 and, for ten years, editor of the Sydney Morning Herald.



Jack Thomson: the real McCoy

Banks and Richard Meale have as yet achieved international recognition, but several others, including some women, are already knocking at the door. What is more, these composers, though widely different in style, have something in common which may justly be considered a new and genuine contribution to contemporary music: a deep and scholarly interest in Asian music. Some of them have spent years studying the music of Indonesia, India and Korea.

The Australian opera company has already



Outback street shearer's scene from "Sunday Too Far Away" shot on location among the red gums

The masterpiece the Soviet authorities frowned at

By Alma H. Law

Leningrad

As the houselights dimmed, a middle-aged man in a business suit moved down the aisle and slowly mounted the stage. He turned to the audience, paused a moment, and then holding up a piece of burlachka, a kind of Russian bun, he told of having seen a young girl drop it on the floor in the buffet and not bother to pick it up.

"Does she," he wondered aloud, "realize the true value of a piece of bread?" He began, then, to recall a time three decades ago when bread meant life itself. As indeed it also had for most of the audience watching the premiere of the Gorky Theatre's new production, "Three Sacks of Wheat Tailings." By the time the three and one half hour performance was over, there were few if any dry-eyed spectators.

Mounded by Georgi Tovstonogov as his theatre's contribution to this year's celebrations marking the 30th anniversary of VE Day (or as the Soviets like to call it, the Victory over the Fascist Invaders), "Three Sacks of Wheat Tailings" details with unusual frankness the harsh realities of life in a rural settlement far from the battlefield. It's not surprising that the production was the object of strong attacks from those who prefer to have the Soviet people remember the war as a series of glorious deeds performed by flag-waving soldiers in freshly pressed uniforms.

And although the theatre was not forced to withdraw the production from its repertory the cultural officials did take the unusual step of excluding it from the roster of "30th Anniversary productions," thus denying the theatre the top prize it would surely have won.

The play is adapted from a story by Vladimir Tendryakov, one of the talented writers discovered by the late Alexander Tvardovsky, editor of Novy Mir during the post-Stalin literary renaissance. A young soldier, Zhenka Tulupov (played by Yuri Demich), furloughed after being wounded at



Scene from "Three Sacks of Wheat Tailings," Gorky Theatre, Leningrad

the front, has been assigned to one of the brigades Stalin ordered out during the last months of the war to search for the grain collective farms were secretly hoarding for their own use.

These were dark and desperate days, a time when few had enough to eat. To be caught hoarding back food supplies vitally needed at the front was treason. The penalty was imprisonment or more often, death.

A group of tattered and weary women, old men, and boys too young to fight are all that remain of the once wealthy settlement of Lower Encha to which Zhenka's brigade is sent in the Autumn of 1944. As the curtain rises, they stand on the roadway like ghosts, impassively listening to a loudspeaker report-

ing the latest war dispatches and exhorting them to give, "Everything for the front! Everything for victory!"

The idea that this sorry gathering might be hoarding grain seems ludicrous. Yet the brigade must carry out its mandate.

The search leads Zhenka to the hut of Adrian Fomich, a simple old man too honest to hide three sacks of tailings painstakingly collected from the thrashing floor. Zhenka, is tempted to risk not reporting them. But Bozheumov, assistant to the brigade's secretary, will not remain silent.

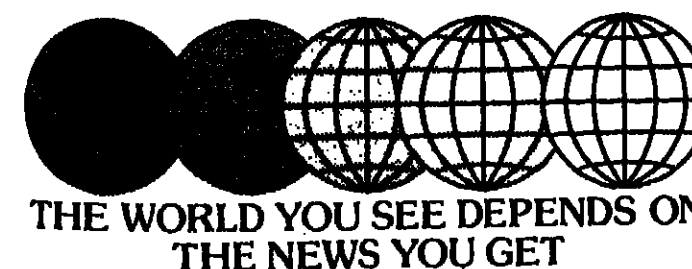
The chairman of the village council, Kistev, a bitter, dying man, confronts Bozheumov, successfully argues that it is a pointless, even suicidal sacrifice to carry off every last bit of grain. Without seed to plant, not only will such settlements as Upper Encha cease to exist, but the hardships of war will surely be followed by even greater suffering in peacetime — an eventuality that in many instances did come true.

With this production, so clearly superior to all the other offerings served up for the 30th Anniversary, Tovstonogov once again affirms his position as one of the major figures in the Soviet theatre today.

In his 19 years as head of the Gorky Theatre, Tovstonogov has earned a reputation as a master of subtle psychological analysis on the stage. Whether dealing with the classic repertory or contemporary drama, he has consistently taken as his main theme that of man in all his complexities as seen in relationship to society. Never one to play it safe, he has, beginning as far back as his production of Gorky's "The Philistines" in 1956 — a production that received rave reviews when it toured Germany this spring — more than once forced a reevaluation of Soviet clichés about the positive hero.

"Three Sacks of Wheat Tailings" is no exception.

Alma Law is writing a book on Soviet theater. Her articles have run in French, American, and Soviet journals.



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Star-filled new western

By David Sterritt

"Bite the Bullet" is not about the recession. It's a western — rough, tough, and raucous — about a posse of ornery galoots, and one ornery lady galoot, who launch into a 700-mile-long horseback endurance race.

The reward is a pile of money, not to mention your name in the paper. The obstacles: burning sun, desert sand, rushing river, treacherous competitors, poisonous pitons, meddles, and the absence of a good dentist.

That's a lot of excitement for one movie. What's more, there are subplots all over the place.

To top it off, those racing buckaroos are played by a

raft of big-name actors — Gene Hackman, James Coburn, Ben Johnson, Jan-Michael Vincent, plus Candice Bergen as the woman contestant. With its western setting, racing-chasing story, and stars galore, "Bite the Bullet" sounds like a formula for cinema success.

Which is exactly the trouble. "Bite the Bullet" is full of formula twists and formula turns, no more surprising than the too-familiar title phrase (or the occasional realistic vulgarities that pepper the dialogue).

I much enjoyed watching Gene Hackman, though, as a salty cowpoke who is driven to fury by cruelty to animals.

Hackman is not only one of the best actors around today,

he's also one of the busiest — as "Bullet" arrives he's still onscreen in both "Night Moves" and "French Connection II."

Besides coordinating this cast into an acceptable entertainment, Brooks provides a few serious undertones, too. Perhaps the most significant of these is the anti-cruelty statement.

The issue of animal treatment in moviemaking has been on many minds lately, sparked partly by complaints about abuse of horses in such pictures as "Poseidon" and "The Wind and the Lion." I gasped at some scenes in "Bite the Bullet" — where Mr. Vincent knocks down a burro with a punch, where a horse falls off a cliff, and in other instances. But I then ran across a comment by animal lover Cleveland Amory, who has seen portions of film showing the animals immediately after shooting the scenes in question, and who has interviewed the film's makers. Mr. Amory concludes that "Bite the Bullet" is blameless, and actually worth recommending for its stand against inhumane treatment. So you can't always judge by onscreen appearances.

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Helsinki fish market: between East and West

Oil tightens Finnish-Russian ties

By David T. Cook
Business and financial correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

One little-noticed effect of the 10-percent price hike just announced by oil-producing nations will be to tighten the ties that bind Finnish economic survival to continuing Soviet oil sales.

Finland, which has no domestic oil supply, gets about two thirds of its petroleum needs from the Soviet Union. The Soviets charge the Finns the going world rate for that oil.

Under the terms of a bilateral agreement, in normal years Finnish imports from the Russians must be offset by an equal value of Finnish exports to Russia. Thus if Soviet oil prices rise, Finland will have to send a larger share of its exports to the Soviets to pay for the same amount of oil.

Already Finnish exports to the Soviets are the fastest-growing segment of Finnish trade. In the first quarter of 1975, exports to Russia rose 100 percent, a Union Bank of Finland study indicates. Trade with Eastern-bloc nations accounted for 21.1 percent of Finnish exports, the study indicates.

While U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger says the anticipated oil price hike "would seriously jeopardize" America's relations with its oil suppliers, a high Finnish Foreign Ministry official, who asked not to be named, said higher Soviet oil prices "would not jeopardize" relations with Finland. This official added he "would welcome" the increase in exports to Russia as an oil price increase would force.

This official position is taken despite Finnish Minister of Trade and Industry Arvo Rytkonen's admission that "rather much" of last year's 17.3 percent increase in Finnish consumer prices was caused by higher Soviet petroleum prices.

Despite prospects of even closer ties to a nation with whom relations have been most sensitive, there is little public or private comment on Finnish-Russian relations, business, government, and media officials here say.

One reason for the apparent lack of concern, explains University of Helsinki foreign relations expert Keijo Korhonen is that Finns "don't see anything changing in this relationship."

After fighting and losing twice to Russia during World War II, Finland was forced to cede territory to the Soviets, accept limitations on the size of its armed forces, and pay reparations.

In 1948 Finland and the Soviet Union signed an agreement of "friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance." The document, renewed in 1955 and 1970 requires Finland to fight off armed attacks on Russia made through Finland but also recognizes the Finnish desire to avoid entanglements in major power conflicts.

The major concern of Finnish foreign policy subsequent to the first signing of the "cooperation" agreement with Russia has been "to build our relationship with the Soviet Union and at the same time keep our independence," Professor Korhonen says.

To avoid inflaming relations with its superpower neighbor, the Finnish press and government speak of Russia in softer terms than seen in some Western publications. This cautious political politeness has been characterized by some observers as "Finlandization" which, by one definition, implies that Finland is nominally independent but open to Soviet pressure if exerted.

Finns generally find that definition offensive and agree with Professor Korhonen that "the Communists never play tricks" in the Finnish political process, even though some 17 percent of the population normally votes Communist.

Nevertheless, a battle for control of the Metalworkers' Union between Communist and non-Communist factions has aroused widespread national interest here as the November union voting approaches.

The business community has been watching the electioneering with special interest because the Communist faction — which in the last union election got 46 percent of the vote — advocates taking the metalworkers out of the nationwide wage bargaining system now operating in Finland.

While businessmen fear more inflationary wage settlements, the public's most commonly voiced concern is that due to factional disputes within the Communist labor movement, party control of the union might lead to disruptive or extreme labor tactics.

French law to stop checks bouncing

By Philip W. Whitcomb
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

In France they call them wooden checks instead of rubber ones, but in 1974 over 4 million of them bounced just the same.

"They've become a very serious social and economic plague, the Minister of Justice told the National Assembly in urging them to adopt a new law which finally came into operation this month.

"Unless we can stop it," the government's chief prosecuting attorney for check violations declared, "these unpaid checks will soon disrupt all the commercial transactions of France."

The explanation of the phenomenon is simple. The use of checks by businesses has been almost universal during the last century. But for personal payments the mass of the French people had continued to use cash and bank notes (paper money in France) until a few years ago.

Innocent errors were made in hundreds of thousands of cases due to unfamiliarity with the evanescent character of bank balances, but there is a steadily growing belief that it is no longer a misdemeanor, very nearly a public duty, to relieve the monsters of today's economy — common carriers, supermarkets, multiple-branch concerns of all kinds — of a

few crumbs of what are seen as their ill-gotten gains.

Traditional laws governing dud checks were so strict that the courts were able, in 1974 for example, to deal with less than 10 percent of the actions brought against the check drawers, who totaled 3,510,000 without counting most of the checks drawn for less than \$20.

A new law was seen as essential.

The National Assembly adopted the law in January 1972. But in France no law can be applied until the government issues a "decree of application"; for example, a law of 1919 obliging employers to share their profits with employees was never followed by the necessary decree and so was never applied.

On Oct. 5 this year the decree of application was published in the Journal Officiel. Now the drawer of a check has four days in which to provide the necessary sum. If he does not do so, then on the fourth day he is given a fifteen-day warning, at the end of which period his name is added to the national black list maintained by the Bank of France, and the government prosecuting attorneys are ordered to prosecute.

All banks are ordered to refuse, or to withdraw, check books for the defaulter. And the penalties are 10 days to a month in prison for less than \$220 in bad checks, one to five years for more, and fines up to \$8,000.

That funny noise under the bonnet

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Every motorist has been through it at least once. As you pull out of your driveway and into the street, you hear an unfamiliar, ominous sound.

If you are not an auto mechanic, it helps a lot if you can recognize the noise, at least. Then you will know whether to head straight for the service garage or go on about your business.

Here are a few of the more obvious sounds you might hear as you pull away from a stoplight:

Engine cackling — A car's idle speed may need adjustment if the engine continues to run for a brief time after the ignition is shut off. Mechanics refer to the problem as dieseling. It may also occur after several short shopping trips. Engine cackling after a short drive simply indicates that the emission-control devices have not warmed up sufficiently and is no cause for alarm.

Engine pings — Pings and knocks from under the hood (bonnet), especially when you step on the gas pedal, are often an engine's way of asking for higher-octane fuel. But if a different grade of fuel doesn't help, engine timing may be at fault and it could be time for a tune-up.

However, if the pings turn into a loud, metallic bang, something far more serious is afoot and a fast trip to the garage is required.

Ignition clicks — If a clicking sound occurs when the ignition key is turned on and the car's engine refuses to start, a corroded battery cable may have cut off the electrical current to the starting motor. Sometimes the click is caused by a faulty starter relay switch. The whirring, or spinning noise of a small electrical motor from under the hood, on the other hand, means trouble in the starter motor itself.

Tire ticks — A rhythmic ticking sound at low speeds often warns that a nail, rock, or piece of glass is imbedded in a tire. Higher speeds usually blot out the noise. A quick check to remove the object is suggested because serious tire damage can occur.

Speedometer chatter — A chattering or clicking sound from the instrument panel usually indicates the need for speedometer service. The noise, which may be accompanied by a flutter of the speedometer needle, usually indicates that a link has developed in the speedometer cable or the entire system needs lubrication.

Exhaust pipe pops — Accompanied by a rough engine idle, a soft popping or drumming sound from the exhaust pipe points to fouled spark plugs or faulty ignition wiring. The noise normally is audible only when the car is idling. Louder popping or rat-a-tat-tat noises which occur during periods of acceleration or deceleration are signs of a worn muffler.

Belt screech — Shrill screeches from the engine com-

partment when you step on the gas pedal are a signal that the fan belt is loose or faulty. Intermittent chirps or peeps also point to the same condition. If not repaired, the engine may overheat and require far more costly repairs.

Radio whines — Consistent whines or high-pitched buzzes from the car radio may point to a poor or broken ground connection. Or there could be a short in the radio's filter circuit. The noise should not be confused with brief periods of interference which may be caused by high-tension wires, a power station, or the close proximity of a radio-transmission tower. Raspy or ragged tones from the radio, on the other hand, may be caused by damage to the speaker surface or water leaks that have dampened the speakers.

Tire squeal — First check the tires to see if one or more need more air pressure. Worn brake linings also can cause squeals or squeaks when the brake is applied. Sometimes new brake linings develop a razor-thin glaze on the lining surface which may cause similar noises. A mechanic can halt the sound by roughing the lining surface with fine sandpaper.

A motorist should keep his ears attuned as his car squeaks. For example, if an engine begins to sound louder or gradually takes on a deeper tone, a potentially serious leak may have developed in the exhaust system.

Now what was that strange sound from beneath the hood of the car this morning as you drove to work?

EXCHANGE RATES

	DOLLARS
Argentine peso	.037
Austrian dollar	1.280
Austrian schilling	.056
Belgian franc	.026
Brazilian cruzeiro	.123
British pound	2.072
Canadian dollar	.979
Colombian peso	.034
Danish krona	.169
French franc	.230
Dutch guilder	.381
Hong Kong dollar	.199
Israeli pound	.150
Italian lira	.001
Japanese yen	.003
Mexican peso	.080
Norwegian krona	.184
Portuguese escudo	.038
South African rand	1.163
Spanish peseta	.014
Serbian dinar	.231
Swiss franc	.380
Venezuelan bolivar	.284
W. German Deutsche mark	.381

books

Oddly enough, it was a good year for Irish writers

By Parkman Howe

Important books rarely arrive in the small space of a year, much less on an island of 4 million drawn and quartered by civil strife. Perhaps because literature to some extent thrives on extremes of human emotion, Irish writers had a particularly good year.

Dublin's fabled Cuala Press, alive and still run by the Yeats family, started last fall off with a two-volume hand-printed edition of W.B. Yeats's hitherto unpublished novel *The Speckled Bird*, edited by W. H. O'Donnell. Yeats wrote the book, his version of a "Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man," between 1896 and 1902 and wisely decided not to publish it during his life-time. But now, 70 years later, the handsome Cuala edition fills in another niche in the Yeats oeuvre.

Adolescence ripening to maturity also engages John McGahern and Francis Stuart, who follow a closely autobiographical format.

In *The Leavetaking* (London: Faber and Faber, \$2.50; Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown, \$6.95) McGahern brings the young hero of "The Dark" and "The Barracks" up to the day when he loses his teaching job due to his surreptitious marriage to an American divorcee at a Dublin registry office.

Stuart also sends his hero, II, into the public lion pit in *Black List* Section II (London: Martin Brian & O'Keefe, \$1.25), though not just the puritanical lion pit of Irish society, but of western civilization. II, Stuart's fictionalized pseudonym flees the stagnation of Ireland to teach literature in Germany during World War II. As the Third Reich crumbles, II suffers incarceration by the Allies and separation from loved ones — Stuart's most persistent theme. The book offers startling glimpses of Maud and Iseult Gonne and W. B. Yeats, all of whom Stuart knew intimately.

Unlike McGahern, Stuart has a long career behind him and one is tempted to regard "Black List" not only as Stuart's masterpiece, but a major work as well.

David Thomson pursues a more conventional autobiographical reminiscence in *And here is love* (London: Faber, \$1.25; New York: The Viking Press, \$7.95). Ms. O'Faolain makes a scholarly incision into 6th-century Gaul where the barbarian of invading Franks is pitted against the seething religiosity of conquered Queen Radagunda. A book remarkable for its raw energy, and a totally new direction for Ms. O'Faolain.

Poetry also had a remarkable start with the August, 1974, publication of the late Padraic Fallon's *Poems* (Dublin: Dolmen). For years Fallon had been writing poems, plays and journals, but never in book form. One of Samuel Beckett's generation, he elected to remain in Ireland where his work became increasingly neglected. "Poems" pulls together work from the 1930s to the '70s. Certainly the longer poem "The Head" must rate as a classic.

Seamus Heaney produced another well-publicized volume of poems, *North* (London: Faber, \$1.25). Heaney's themes haven't changed from his previous three books: invasions and the bog's record of that agony. There is another note, too, as in perhaps one of his most popular pieces, "Mossbawn" (For Mary Heaney):

And here is love
like a tin snail's scoop
sunk past its gleam
in the meal-bin.

Heaney earned high praise from reviewers — among those George Mackay Brown, who placed him "among the half-dozen best poets in the language."

Michael Hartnett made a much publicized switch from English to the Irish (Gaelic) language with the appearance of his *A Farewell To English* (Dublin: Gallery Press, 1975). Mr. Hartnett's customary passion and dense syntax are much in evidence in this volume, though a gnawing note of bitterness, especially in the title piece, threatens to sour some of his finer ones. Mr. Hartnett has recently received two lucrative arts awards to live in his native County Limerick and one awaits with interest the first fruits of his latest course.

Richard Murphy meanwhile has been living near Galway renovating old fishing boats and cottages and writing poems. His latest collection, *High Island* (London: Faber, \$1.25; New York: Harper & Row, \$6.95), abandons the narrative form in favor of shorter lyrics

with much success. His new poems celebrate sea life and wandering tinkers of the coastal world about Galway, as well as the jungles of Ceylon where Murphy spent part of his childhood.

Perhaps the most important event of 1975 went all but unnoticed in Ireland and elsewhere: the publication of Brian Coffey's long poem "Advent," in a special issue of *The Irish University Review*, spring, 1975, entirely devoted to his work. Coffey opted for Paris in the 1920s and '30s and became friendly with Joyce and Beckett. He has taught philosophy in St. Louis, Missouri, and is in retirement in Southampton, England. "Advent" is a truly long poem, over 1,000 lines, divided into eight sections based on the canonical hours. Syntax is foreshortened, definite and indefinite articles jettisoned.

Parkman Howe is enrolled in the PhD program in Anglo-Irish literature at University College, Dublin.

Fine novel from prose-poet of Raj

A Division of the Spoils, by Paul Scott. New York: William Morrow and Co. 598 pp. \$10.95. London: Heinemann. £4.90.

By Robert Nye

Paul Scott is a social novelist in the finest sense. He has a wide range of sympathy; a shrewd eye for the way quite ordinary people can betray a truth beyond their own intellectual or emotional apprehension even while engaged in lives which might appear so much mere gesture to a less sensitive observer; a neat pen, and a patient way with words.

What I like most about his work are the quick changes of tone and mood by which he can suddenly, as it were, enter a scene already perfectly presented from outside. The effect is of great ease, an almost lazy psychological insight leisurely brought to bear upon a piece of behavioristic observation already convincing in its concrete detail and feeling for place.

This is thinking and writing on a high level. When he engages the formidable battery of such novelistic gifts upon his favorite milieu, India, then the result can be dazzling.

"A Division of the Spoils" is the fourth and final volume in what he calls "The Raj Quartet," a sequence of books depicting the end of British rule in India. An earlier critic referred to Mr. Scott as "the prose-poet of the Raj in decline," and for once the praise means something.

Here, as before, his India is somehow more than India, a country of the mind. The time is 1945, the war is over, and in the uneasy peace it becomes apparent to Indians and British alike that their particular problems are still unresolved, indeed they have only been exacerbated by the conflict. The action of the novel fills the next two years — 24 months during which the long presence of Britain in the subcontinent came to an end.

Against this background Mr. Scott tells the story of a British police officer, Ronald Merrick. Merrick is in several respects a symbol of the decay of moral fiber in the very concept of empire. Ambitious, corrupt, brutal, living under the protection of the Nawab of Mirat, he orders the destinies of those who have opposed his country by fighting on the side of the Japanese. A festering evil breaks to the surface in the course of the book. Merrick stands finally for an old order, an order that must pass for history to have its way.

Superbly opposite this figure, Mr. Scott places the figure of Kasim, a young Muslim, who at the book's conclusion succeeds in transcending the dilettante streak in his own nature, offering a pure ennobling sacrifice emblematic of the order about to be born.

This is a fine, packed, energetic novel, honest in its slow puzzling out of complexities, pulling no punches in its comments on the British imperial presence.

Robert Nye is a poet, critic, and essayist who lives in Scotland.

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Faim mondiale : amélioration actuelle, mais...

par David Anable
Correspondant du
Christian Science Monitor

Nations Unies, New York

Un des principaux experts internationaux en alimentation a déclaré qu'en ce qui concerne cette question le monde est dans une situation meilleure aujourd'hui qu'il y a un an.

Ceci est dû aux conditions atmosphériques, tout particulièrement aux saisons de mousson en Asie qui ont activé la production de riz, ainsi qu'à une approche actuelle internationale plus coopérative, comme l'explique John A. Hannah, directeur du Conseil mondial de l'alimentation.

Cependant, ajoute cet ancien chef de l'aide américaine, la situation ne s'est pas aussi considérablement améliorée qu'il l'avait espéré. Par exemple, rien ne fait prévoir qu'il sera bientôt possible de constituer des réserves alimentaires mondiales.

Qui plus est, prévient-il, bon nombre de gouvernements auront à prendre des « décisions draconiennes » afin de subvenir aux besoins de leur population explosive au cours des dix années et plus qui vont suivre. Il estime que même à l'heure actuelle « à peu près 400 millions

de personnes souffrent de la famine ou de malnutrition grave ».

Au cours d'une interview accordée ici, le docteur Hannah a décrit les progrès accomplis depuis novembre dernier, époque à laquelle se tint à Rome la Conférence mondiale de l'alimentation et il a parlé des grands problèmes qui restent à résoudre. (Le Conseil mondial de l'alimentation a été formé pour mettre en application les résolutions formulées à la Conférence de Rome).

Production de denrées alimentaires. Si la Conférence de Rome a jamais mis en exergue une réalité cruciale, c'est bien le fait que les surplus alimentaires de l'Occident ne sauraient résoudre d'une façon indéfinie les problèmes des nations déficientes en alimentation. Le docteur Hannah indique que si les choses continuent comme par le passé les besoins totaux alimentaires des pays déficients atteindront 85 à 100 millions de tonnes en 1985, quantité qui ne serait pas transportable.

La Conférence s'est donc prononcée massivement en faveur d'une pression à exercer sur les pays en voie de développement et tout spécialement les importateurs pour qu'ils prennent eux-mêmes des mesures énergiques en vue d'améliorer leur production alimentaire. Cette nouvelle orientation, dit le docteur

Hannah, exigera des décisions très sévères de la part des pays en voie de développement.

« Il faut que les gouvernements disent : "Ceci est important, plus important, qu'une usine métallurgique." »

Ces gouvernements auront également besoin de fonds provenant de l'extérieur, ajoute-t-il. Il espère donc voir enfin l'établissement du Fonds international déjà proposé pour le développement de l'agriculture, d'un montant de 1 milliard 200 millions de dollars, et qui serait en opération dès le début de l'année prochaine en tant qu'agence spécialisée des Nations Unies.

Une moitié de ce fonds serait soustraite par les membres de l'OPEC (originaires de la proposition) et l'autre moitié par les pays industrialisés (le Congrès des Etats-Unis procède actuellement à l'appropriation de \$200 millions). De plus, d'immenses efforts seront faits en vue de fournir aux pays déficients un tonnage plus important en engrais et pesticides, et de leur faire profiter des résultats d'une recherche agricole approfondie.

Alde alimentaire mondiale. Dans un contexte plus immédiat le docteur Hannah est déçu de ce que l'objectif de la Conférence de Rome, qui consistait à mettre à disposition un tonnage

garanti de 10 millions de tonnes de céréales par an dans les trois prochaines années, n'ait pas encore été atteint.

Il dit cependant que le déficit se monte à moins d'un million de tonnes qui sera vraisemblablement plus que comblé lorsque la Communauté européenne délinquante se décidera finalement à agir. Et, ajoute-t-il, ce retard n'a jusqu'ici privé personne.

Réserves alimentaires. Quand l'Union soviétique a « avalé » il y a trois ans le surplus américain de céréales, ce fut la fin de ces décennies de surplus alimentaires détenus par l'Occident. La Conférence de Rome a proposé un nouveau moyen de remplacer ces réserves temporaires existant depuis longtemps en cas de force majeure : créer une réserve alimentaire de 60 millions de tonnes.

Mais à ce jour on n'a pas encore trouvé le moyen de concilier les graves différends sur la désignation du pays qui contrôlerait de tels surplus. Tout comme pour le système consistant à annoncer à l'avance le rendement des récoltes (système auquel l'Union soviétique ne veut pas souscrire) une certaine atténuation de la souveraineté nationale paraît essentielle. « Voilà bien le genre de monde où nous vivons », dit le docteur Hannah.

Welthunger: Wir haben jetzt mehr Nahrungsmittel, aber...

Von David Anable
Korrespondent des
Christian Science Monitors

Vereinte Nationen, New York

In Bezug auf Nahrungsmittel steht es mit der Welt heute besser als vor einem Jahr, sagt einer der führenden internationalen Nahrungsmittel-Experten.

Dies haben wir sowohl dem Wetter — vor allem den für den Reisbau günstigen Monsunen in Asien — als auch einer besseren internationalen Zusammenarbeit zu verdanken, erklärt John A. Hannah, Vorsitzender des Welternährungsrats.

Aber, fügt der ehemalige Leiter des amerikanischen Hilfsprogramms hinzu, die Lage habe sich nicht so sehr gebessert, wie er gehofft hätte. Er sieht z. B. noch keine Zeichen dafür, daß in Kürze Welternährungsmittelreserven gebildet werden können.

Außerdem, so warnt er, werden viele Regierungen einige „harte Entscheidungen“ treffen müssen, wenn sie ihre zunehmende Bevölkerung die nächsten zehn Jahre oder länger ernähren wollen. Er schätzt, daß sogar heute „etwa 400 Millionen Menschen verhungern oder an schwerer Unterernährung leiden.“

In einem Interview hier sprach Dr. Hannah über die seit der Welternährungskonferenz in Rom im vergangenen November erzielten Fortschritte und die ungeheuren Probleme, die noch zu lösen sind. (Der Welternährungsrat wurde gegründet, um die Beschlüsse der Konferenz durchzuführen.)

Nahrungsmittelproduktion. Die Konferenz in Rom machte einen bedeutenden Punkt klar, nämlich daß die Nahrungsmittelüberschüsse der westlichen Welt nicht für immer die Probleme der Länder lösen können, die Nahrungsmitteldefizite aufweisen. Dr. Hannah deutet darauf hin, daß bis 1985 der gesamte Nahrungsmittelbedarf der Defizitländer auf 85 bis 100 Millionen Tonnen, eine untransportierbare Menge, ansteigen werde, falls keine Änderungen getroffen würden.

Die Konferenz befürwortete daher sehr, daß drastische Verbesserungen der Nahrungsmittelproduktion in den Entwicklungsländern selbst unterstützt werden sollten, vor allem in den Ländern, die Nahrungsmittel einführen. Aufgrund dieser Wendung müssen von den Entwicklungsländern harte Entscheidungen verlangt werden, sagt Dr. Hannah.

„Die Regierungen müssen einfach sa-

gen: Dies ist wichtig, wichtiger als ein Stahlwerk.“

Indessen würden diese Regierungen Zuschüsse von außen benötigen, fügt er hinzu. Dr. Hannah hofft nun, daß der vorgeschlagene Internationale Fonds zur Wirtschaftsentwicklung in Höhe von 1,2 Milliarden Dollar Anfang nächsten Jahres endgültig als ein besonderes Instrument der Vereinten Nationen eingerichtet werde.

Die Hälfte des Fonds soll von den OPEC-Ländern kommen (die als erste die Schaffung des Fonds anregten) und die andere Hälfte von den Industrieländern (der Kongreß der Vereinigten Staaten berät gegenwärtig über die Bewilligung von 200 Millionen Dollar). Außerdem sollen an die Defizitländer mehr Dünge- und Schädlingsbekämpfungsmittel und die Ergebnisse umfangreicher landwirtschaftlicher Forschungen weitergegeben werden.

Nahrungsmittelhilfe. Was nun ein unmittelbares Ziel der Konferenz in Rom betrifft, nämlich zehn Millionen Tonnen Getreide pro Jahr als sichere Nahrungsmittelhilfe für die nächsten drei Jahre zur Verfügung zu haben, so stellt Dr. Hannah mit Enttäuschung fest, daß dies noch nicht erreicht wurde.

Es fehlen jedoch, wie er sagt, weniger

als eine Million Tonnen — ein Defizit, das bei weitem aufgehoben werde, wenn sich schließlich die noch ständige Europäische Gemeinschaft dafür entscheidet. Und, so fügt er hinzu, bis jetzt ist noch niemand wegen der Verzögerung verurteilt.

Nahrungsmittelreserven. Als die Sowjetunion vor drei Jahren Amerikas überschüssigen Weizen verschlang stellte dies auf dramatische Weise das Ende des jahrzehntelangen Nahrungsmittelüberschusses der westlichen Welt dar. Auf der Konferenz in Rom wurde als ein neuer Ersatz für jenes übertraute Polster gegen Nahrungsmittelkrisen in der Welt eine Nahrungsmittelreserve von 60 Millionen Tonnen vorgeschlagen.

Bis jetzt aber hat sich noch kein Weg gefunden, die scharfen Meinungsverschiedenheiten darüber, wer solchen Vorrat kontrollieren sollte, zu überbrücken. Wie bei dem „Vorwarnsystem“, bei dem frühzeitig die erwarteten Ernteerträge bekanntgegeben werden sollen (mit dem sich die Sowjetunion nicht einverstanden erklärte), scheint auch hier eine gewisse Verwässerung der nationalen Souveränität erforderlich zu sein. „Wir leben nun einmal in solch einer Welt“, meint Dr. Hannah.

World hunger—more food now, but...

By David Anable
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

United Nations, New York

When it comes to food the world is better off now than it was a year ago, says one of the leading international food experts.

This is due both to the weather — especially to rice-boosting monsoons in Asia — and to today's more cooperative international approach, explains John A. Hannah, executive director of the World Food Council.

But, adds this former United States aid chief, the situation is not as greatly improved as he had hoped it would be. There is for instance, no sign yet that world food reserves can soon be established.

What's more, he warns, many governments will have to make some "tough decisions" if their expanding populations are to be fed over the next 10 years or more. Even now, he estimates, "roughly 400 million people are either starving or suffering from malnutrition."

In an interview here Dr. Hannah outlined the progress made since last November's World Food Conference in Rome and the vast challenges still ahead. (The World Food Council was set up to implement the conference's resolutions.)

Food production. If there was one crucial fact that the Rome conference brought home it was that Western food surpluses could not indefinitely solve the problems of countries with food deficits. Dr. Hannah points out that if past trends continued the total food needs of deficit countries would reach 85 million to 100 million tons by 1985, an untransportable quantity.

The conference therefore came down heavily in favor of encouraging drastic improvements in the food production at the developing countries themselves, especially food importers. It is this change in direction that Dr. Hannah says will demand tough decisions of developing nations.

"The governments have got to say, 'This is

important, more important than a steel mill.'"

At the same time these governments are going to need external funds, he adds. Hence, Dr. Hannah hopes the proposed \$1.2 billion International Fund for Agricultural Development will finally be established as a United Nations specialized agency early next year.

Half of the fund's money is meant to come from members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (who first proposed the fund) and half from the industrialized countries (the U.S. Congress is in process of appropriating \$200 million). In addition there will be increased efforts to supply deficit countries with more fertilizer and pesticides and with the results of extended agricultural research.

Food aid. On a more immediate front, Dr. Hannah is disappointed that the Rome conference's target of 10 million tons of cereal grains per year to be made available in assured food

aid over the next three years has not yet been reached.

However, he says, the shortfall is less than 1 million tons — a deficit likely to be more than made up when a delinquent European Community eventually makes up its collective mind. And, he adds, no one has gone hungry so far because of the delay.

Food reserves. When the Soviet Union gobbled up America's extra wheat three years ago, this dramatized the end of the decades of Western food surpluses. A new substitute for that long-accustomed cushion against the world's food emergencies was proposed by the Rome conference: A 60-million-ton system of food reserves.

But so far no way has been found to bridge sharp disagreements as to who should control such surpluses. As with the early warning system for crop yields (with which the Soviet Union will not cooperate) a certain dilution of national sovereignty seems essential. "That's the sort of world we're in," says Dr. Hannah.

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paraissant en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
[Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine]

Quel est votre ennemi?

Lorsque je me trouve à considérer quelqu'un en ennemi, je me rends compte que je dois fouiller plus profondément ma propre existence. Mes ennemis sont en réalité la peur du mal, la croyance en un pouvoir séparé de Dieu, et l'apathie ou le refus de résister aux suggestions agressives de mal. Ceux-ci voudraient m'empêcher de reconnaître et de prouver la domination naturelle qu'a l'homme en tant que l'enfant véritable de Dieu.

Lorsque Dieu créa la terre et tous les êtres vivants, Il créa l'homme et lui donna cette domination. « Dieu dit : Faisons l'homme à notre image, selon notre ressemblance, et qu'il domine sur les poissons de la mer, sur les oiseaux du ciel, sur le bétail, sur toute la terre. » Dieu donne à l'homme la domination, la force et la puissance et nous pouvons démontrer cela dans notre vie et y recourir pour vaincre tout ce qui est déséquilibré à Dieu.

Notre reconnaissance de l'omnipotence de Dieu est une chose essentielle dans notre démonstration de l'impuissance du mal. Dieu est tout-puissant et toujours présent, et c'est pourquoi le mal ne peut avoir aucune puissance ou présence réelle. Comment pouvons-nous craindre quelque chose lorsque nous le voyons finalement en tant qu'illusion, une fausse croyance sans réalité, ni pouvoir de nous causer du mal ? La clé de notre domination est notre compréhension de Dieu et de notre unité parfaite avec Lui.

Christ Jésus prouva la filialité de l'homme avec Dieu le Père, l'Entendement divin, la Vérité et l'Amour. Comprendre cela détruit le mal ; comprendre la Vérité détruit toujours l'erreur. Et nous n'avons pas à détruire quoi que ce soit, si ce n'est nos fausses croyances matérielles. La Vérité accomplit le reste. Jésus dit : « En vérité, en vérité, je vous le dis, le Fils ne peut rien faire de lui-même, il ne fait que ce qu'il voit faire au Père, et également : « Je ne puis rien faire de moi-même : selon que l'entends, je juge ; et mon jugement est juste, parce que je ne cherche pas ma volonté, mais la volonté de celui qui m'a envoyé. »

Dans la mesure où nous alignons notre pensée sur l'Entendement divin, nous serons gouvernés par ce même Entendement qui gouvernait Jésus ; nous serons conscients du Christ. Nous démontrerons notre domination sur la discorde dans la mesure où nous comprenons la réalité spirituelle — Dieu parfait et Son reflet parfait, l'homme.

Qui ou quel est notre ennemi ? Les épreuves auxquelles nous devons faire face, sont-elles des ennemis ? Mary Baker Eddy, Découvreuse et Fondatrice de la Science Chrétienne, écrit : « Considérez uniquement comme votre ennemi ce qui souille, défigure et dérange l'image-Christ que vous devez refléter. Tout ce qui purifie, sanctifie, et consacre la vie humaine n'est pas un ennemi, quelles que soient nos souffrances au cours de ce processus. »

A une certaine occasion, au cours de mon existence, je considérais les difficultés financières comme un ennemi. J'étais dans les affaires, à mon compte, et en dépit de toute la peine que je me donnais, je devais lutter chaque mois pour assumer toutes mes responsabilités financières. Je passais beaucoup de temps à me faire du souci à ce sujet et à espérer simplement que les choses changent d'une manière ou d'une autre.

Cette situation dura plusieurs mois, puis un jour je m'assis et me tournai humblement vers Dieu, notre Père toujours présent. A mesure que je priais pour gagner une plus grande compréhension de Lui et de mon véritable ego en tant que Son enfant, je commençais à voir que mes difficultés ne faisaient aucunement partie du bien que Dieu dispense généreusement et de façon continue à tous, et je refusais

d'accepter plus longtemps cette notion de manque en tant que réalité aussi bien pour moi-même que pour qui que ce soit d'autre. Je priais avec ferveur pour savoir que Dieu, le bien, dirigeait constamment ma vie et que seule Sa volonté pouvait être faite.

Cette prière sincère calma ma pensée et m'aïda à me libérer de toute croyance en un pouvoir susceptible d'ajouter quelque chose au bien que Dieu était en train de déverser sur moi en ce moment et de façon continue, ou d'en retrancher quoi que ce soit. Je n'avais qu'à le reconnaître. Peu après, je pris un travail à mi-temps, activité qui combla tous mes besoins immédiats et me laissa suffisamment de temps pour remplir les obligations de mon autre occupation. Mais j'avais dû élever ma pensée avant que je puisse voir que c'était cela la chose juste à faire.

J'avais ainsi vaincu mon prétendu ennemi, et qu'était-ce en réalité ? Simplement ma crainte que le mal avait du pouvoir, que le bien n'est pas toujours présent — et la pensée que je n'étais pas capable de me tourner vers Dieu pour trouver une solution. A mesure que je surmontais ces croyances dans ma pensée, elles disparaissaient. Cette période de croissance se fit en moi un désir plus consciencieux d'en apprendre davantage sur Dieu et de m'en remettre à Lui. C'est ce réveil spirituel, cette prise de conscience de notre unité inséparable avec Dieu, qui est notre protection complète.

¹ Genèse 1:26, 27 Jean 5:19, 30 ; ² Miscellaneous Writings, p. 8.

³ Christian Science, prononcé « Kris-tien » « Science »
La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec le Clair des Écritures », de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec le texte anglais en regard. On peut l'acheter dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commander à : Frances C. Carter, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

Pour tous renseignements sur les autres publications de la Science Chrétienne en français, écrire à The Christian Science Publishing Society, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinender religiöser Artikel
[Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich]

Wer oder was ist Ihr Feind?

Wenn ich bemerke, daß ich jemanden als einen Feind betrachte, weiß ich, daß ich mein eigenes Denken gründlicher erforschen muß. Meine Feinde sind in Wirklichkeit eine Furcht vor dem Bösen, der Glaube an eine von Gott getrennte Macht und eine Gleichgültigkeit oder ein Widerstreben, wenn es darum geht, sich den aggressiven Suggestionen des Bösen entgegenzustellen. Diese möchten mich daran hindern, zu erkennen und zu beweisen, daß es für den Menschen als Gottes Kind etwas Natürliches ist, Herrschaft zu bekunden.

Als Gott die Erde und alle Lebewesen gestaltete, schuf Er den Menschen und verlieh ihm diese Herrschaft. „Gott sprach: Lasset uns Menschen machen, ein Bild, das uns gleich sei, die da herrschen über die Fische im Meer und über die Vögel unter dem Himmel und über das Vieh unter der ganzen Erde.“ Gott gibt dem Menschen Herrschaft, Kraft und Macht, und wir können dies in unserem Leben beweisen und es uns zunutze machen, um alles, was Gott unähnlich ist, zu überwinden.

Wenn wir die Machtlosigkeit des Bösen beweisen wollen, ist es unbedingt notwendig, daß wir die Allmacht Gottes anerkennen. Gott ist allmächtig und immer gegenwärtig, und daher kann das Böse keine wirkliche Macht oder Gegenwart besitzen. Wie können wir etwas fürchten, wenn wir es schließlich als eine Illusion erkennen, eine falsche Annahme, die weder Wirklichkeit noch die Fähigkeit hat, uns zu schaden ? Der Schlüssel zu unserer Herrschaft ist unser Verständnis von Gott und unserer vollkommenen Einheit mit Ihm.

Christus Jesus bewies, daß der Mensch das Kind Gottes, das himmlischen Vaters, ist, das Kind des göttlichen Gemüts, der göttlichen Wahrheit und Liebe. Ein Verständnis hiervon zerstört das Böse. Ein Verständnis der Wahrheit zerstört immer den Irrtum. Und wir brauchen nichts als unsere falschen, materiellen Annahmen zu zerstören. Die Wahrheit tut alles übrige. Jesus sagte: „Wahrlich, wahrlich, ich sage euch: Der Sohn kann nichts von sich selber tun, sondern nur was er sieht den Vater tun“ und ferner: „Ich kann nichts von

mir selber tun. Wie ich höre, so richte ich, und mein Gericht ist recht; denn ich suche nicht meinen Willen, sondern den Willen des, der mich gesandt hat.“

In dem Maße, wie wir unser Denken mit dem göttlichen Gemüt in Einklang bringen, werden wir von demselben Gemüt regiert werden wie Jesus; wir werden uns des Christus bewußt werden. In dem Verhältnis, wie wir die geistige Wirklichkeit verstehen — den vollkommenen Gott und Seine vollkommene Widerspiegelung, den Menschen —, beweisen wir unsere Herrschaft über Disharmonie.

Wer oder was ist unser Feind ? Sind die Prüfungen, denen wir uns gegenübersehen, unsere Feinde ? Mary Baker Eddy, die Entdeckerin und Gründerin der Christlichen Wissenschaft, schreibt: „Nenne nur das deinen Feind, was das Christusbild, das du widerspiegeln sollst, besudelt, entstellt und entthront. Was immer das menschliche Leben läutert, heiligt und weilt, ist nicht ein Feind, wie sehr wir auch darunter leiden mögen.“

Es gab eine Zeit in meinem Leben, wo ich finanzielle Schwierigkeiten als einen Feind ansah. Ich hatte mein eigenes Geschäft, und jeden Monat hatte ich, ganz gleich, wieviel Mühe ich mir auch gab, erhebliche Schwierigkeiten, allen meinen finanziellen Verpflichtungen gerecht zu werden. Ich machte mir oft und lange Zeit Gedanken hierüber und hoffte einfach, daß sich die Lage irgendwie ändern würde.

Nach mehreren Monaten wurde ich dessen überdrüssig und wandte mich demütig an Gott, unseren immer gegenwärtigen Vater. Als ich darum betete, Ihn und mein wahres Selbst als Sein Kind besser zu verstehen, begann ich zu erkennen, daß meine Schwierigkeiten nicht Teil der Fülle des Guten waren, mit der Gott alle Menschen beständig versorgt, und ich wagte mich, den Gedanken als wahr zu akzeptieren, daß ich oder irgend jemand anders unter Mangel litt. Ich betete inbrünstig um das Verständnis, daß Gott, das Gute, mein Leben immer regierte und daß nur Sein Wille geschehen konnte.

Dieses aufrichtige Gebet beruhigte mein Denken und half mir, daraus jede Annahme von einer Macht zu entfernen, die dem Guten, das Gott mir tatsächlich und beständig in reichem Maße zukommen ließ, irgend etwas hinzufügen oder wegnehmen konnte. Ich mußte dies nur erkennen. Bald danach nahm ich eine Teilzeitschäftigung an, so daß für alle meine unmittelbaren Bedürfnisse gesorgt war. Außerdem hatte ich noch genug Zeit, den mit meiner anderen Arbeit verbundenen Verpflichtungen nachzukommen. Aber ich hatte mein Denken erst erheben müssen, bevor ich erkennen konnte, daß dies das Richtige für mich war.

Mein sogenannter Feind war also bezwungen, aber was war er denn eigentlich gewesen ? Nur meine Behauptung, daß das Böse, Macht habe, daß das Gute nicht immer gegenwärtig sei — und der Gedanke, daß ich mich nicht wegen einer Lösung an Gott wenden könne. Als ich diese Annahmen in meinem Denken überwand, verschwanden sie. Diese Zeit des Wachsstums ließ mich hingebungsvoller mehr über Gott lernen und Ihn vertiefter. Es ist dieses geistige Erwachen, unser Bewußtsein von unserer unaufhebaren Einheit mit Gott, das uns völligen Schutz gewährt.

¹ 1. Mo 1:26 (in der engl. Bibel) ; ² Johannes 5:19, 30 ; ³ Verborgene Schriften, S. 8.

⁴ Christen Science, sprich: Kris-tien Science
Die deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, „Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Beweisen von der Wahrheit“, von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Lesesälen der Christlichen Wissenschaft bestellt werden oder von : Frances C. Carter, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

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In a Charles side street



"The Connoisseur": Watercolor by Thomas Rowlandson (1756-1827)

Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

The dawn of watercolor

Because paint is a mixture of pigment with something to make it stick, various things have been tried. Animal grease may have been the first. Glue served Egyptians, wax did for Greeks. Medieval colors appeared good enough to eat. They would have been had the pigments been edible. They were mixed with egg, or gelatin and honey, or sometimes milk products: collectively a custard.

Then, as the Renaissance washed over Europe, art workshop fires cooked vegetable oils with litharge of gold and exotic gums. Hence the expression, "oil painting." Today, alongside synthetic innovations, oils remain the standard painting medium of art where European influence obtains.

However, a significant departure from this

norm was taken, in the 18th century, by some of the avowedly eccentric British. By grinding pigments more finely than normally with a very water soluble "Arabic" gum, they found they could paint more freely with water on paper than on canvas with oils.

Such a medium was not only well matched with the watery character of the national climate, and with the independent nature of the national character, but it also allowed great speed and spontaneity. It did not resist the movement of the brush which, to some degree, other mediums did. The fact that, for unmeasured time, the Chinese were using the same technique with fine, occasionally perfumed, inks did not interfere with the peculiarly British development of what we call "watercolor."

The knack of this kind of painting was to

let the light of the paper do most of the work by not painting over it too much. Mistakes could neither be erased nor hidden by overpainting. Painters not infrequently confronted a blank paper with dread. Once the dread was overcome, the medium was proof against afterthoughts and hesitations. If it did not turn to mud, it brilliantly shone.

Thomas Rowlandson of London was one of the acknowledged best masters of this technique when it was relatively new in his locality. It was ideal for the impromptu handwork at which he excelled. He alternated brushes for laying off washes with a reed pen for rendering lines.

Master painters commonly extended themselves beyond the call of duty. The results are a surprise of aesthetic and other dividends from their works. Satire was one

of Rowlandson's extensions, as in the picture of "The Connoisseur" who purports to be more delighted with old medals than girls.

Yet the message of delight is less in this quality than in the elements of the composition of this picture, carried by Rowlandson's handling of watercolor. Much as angels, riding the sunny side of clouds, have been alleged to do, they make harmony.

The transparency of the colors, the evidences of the particular vitality with which they were applied, and the unity of the overall design — forms relating to each other in a revolving arabesque — remain uncorrupted for us to see. As we roll on through time they can give us the same pleasure they must have given Rowlandson. This is how simple the appreciation of art can be.

Peter Hopkins

Doing what one likes

An uncle of mine used to sing a rollicking song about an Irish gentleman who, whenever he entertained guests, would welcome them with the words: "Do what you like, or I'll make you!" I should have enjoyed being one of his guests; for it does seem to me that, more often than not, I need a good deal of encouragement before I can bring myself to do as I like. Frequently, there seem to be a number of inward objectors urging me emphatically not to be so reckless, so abandoned, so ridiculous or so perverse as to please myself.

Do not assume that among these is the voice of Conscience; the objectors are composed of more easily excited and shallower mentors, such as Caution, Shyness, Habit, or, most vocal of all, that distinguished foreigner, *Comme il Faut*. By and large they behave on these occasions exactly like the person in the "Punch" anecdote, who sends someone to look after a little girl with the words: "See what she's doing, and tell her she mustn't."

I can call to mind many projects that, overawed by these vociferous carpers, I have meekly renounced. To take an example, I would like in hot summers to walk about London with my bare feet in sandals; but what a furor this rouses! Common Sense, it is true, may put in a word for me; but Caution refers with a shudder to the likelihood of getting dirty feet, and *Comme il Faut* is completely *boulevard*. Or again, I would prefer to go to bed late, and get up late. There is no time in our part of London when the hush is so pronounced as it is at midnight in the small hours. It is then, before the pigeons and the milkmen are around to coo and whistle, that the world intrudes least. It may perhaps lack the majesty that Wordsworth found in the city at early morning, and I do not deny there is a freshness directly after dawn that moves one; yet for my part I feel also something a little odd and disturbing in the aspect of a city largely deserted in daylight.

Not of course, I hasten to add, that this is what motivates me in desiring to get up late. That desire is merely a concomitant of staying up late, which leaves me feeling, in Sir Harry Lauder's memorable words:

"O! it's nice to get up in the mornin'
But it's nicer to lie in bed."

But, needless to say, the objectors are unanimous in condemning this. Backed by all the copybook maxims down the ages concerning the overwhelming merit of "early to bed and early to rise," they do all they can to warn me against hearing the chiming at midnight. I must also say that on

this issue I am confronted with Anthea in the opposition camp; for she, if the ways of our world permitted, would retire with the sun, rise at peep o' day, and have no truck with dreaming when Dawn's left hand is in the sky.

Naturally, with such odds against me, I can seldom stage a sit-on. Though there are times when, escaping the workaday routine, we achieve a compromise, burn the midnight oil, and only rise with the lark if there's one going up around eight o'clock.

Anthea is rather better at defying the objectors than I am; and since we are both inclined to agree with Marie Lloyd's famous dictum that "A little of what you fancy does you good," we not infrequently find ourselves united in maintaining a fancy against the opposition, and sometimes we are successful. Quite recently we pulled it off in the affair of the luggage-trolley. The trolley was Anthea's brilliant idea for avoiding the difficulty and uncertainty involved in getting a taxi each time we go away. Why not, she demanded, be independent, and haul our suitcases to the station ourselves! But at once the objectors cried out. How bizarre it would look! How ridiculous! What a nuisance we might prove to other pedestrians! And *Comme il Faut* was now *accable*. Nevertheless our hearts became set on it. We yearned to be independent. And a day or two before we went on a holiday, we bought a trolley.

I'm afraid the objectors had some reason on their side. That trolley, loaded with two large suitcases, was as difficult to handle as an intransigent mule. It gibbed and kicked at the curbs; it pulled away from me obstinately in its determination not to be led by the nose; it yawed and swayed and staggered — and covered me with confusion every time someone passed, giving us a wide berth. Finally, the rain suddenly came down in torrents, and the trolley, leaping in its usual ungainly and uncooperative way from a curb, turned on its side, and deposited the suitcases neatly in a puddle.

Later, sitting rather breathlessly in our train, which we had just managed to catch, we reviewed the situation.

"We should have listened," I said dolefully, "to all those cautionary voices, and gone to the station sedately in a vehicle as our fathers did before us, instead of allowing ourselves to be deluded by a wild fancy for independence and —"

"Nonsense!" broke in Anthea, "We should have done what I would have liked to do and bought that more expensive trolley."

Eric Forbes-Boyd

Wisdom

My biography, built on encyclopedic pillars, ruminates on my desk. Old columns nest there. Lines, eager eagles, flow through my windows, carry one sentence slogans, upset my love birds. Carpenter ants caucus in council, denounce paragraph construction.

Harry B. Shettel

File bases open their blank spaces, hunger for manuscripts. Typewriter keys gape at me, seek words wrought by an eclectic master. I sit in my yard under an umbrella tree, offer migrating birds pages of my memoirs.

The Monitor's religious article

What is your enemy?

When I find myself regarding someone as an enemy, I realize I need to look deeper into my own experience. My enemies are really a fear of evil, a belief in a power apart from God, and an apathy or refusal to stand up to the aggressive suggestion of evil. These would prevent me from recognizing and proving man's natural dominion as God's own child.

In the first chapter of the Bible, when God formed the earth and all living things, He created man and gave him this dominion. "God said, Let us make man in our image, after our likeness: and let them have dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth." God gives man dominion, strength, and power, and we can demonstrate this in our lives and use it to conquer all that is not like God.

One thing that is essential in our demonstration of the powerlessness of evil is our recognition of the omnipotence of God. God is all-powerful and ever present, and therefore evil can have no real power or presence. How can we fear something when we finally see it as an illusion, a false belief with no reality or ability to harm us? The key to our dominion is our understanding of God and our perfect unity with Him.

Christ Jesus proved man's sonship with God the Father, divine Mind, Truth, and Love. An understanding of this destroys evil. An understanding of Truth always destroys error. And we don't have to destroy anything except our false, material beliefs. Truth does the rest. Jesus said, "Verily, verily, I say unto you, The Son can do nothing of himself, but what he seeth the Father do," and also, "I can of mine own self do nothing; as I hear, I judge: and my judgment is just; because I seek not mine own will, but the will of the Father which hath sent me."***

To the degree that we align our thought with divine Mind we will be governed by the same Mind that governed Jesus; we will be conscious of the Christ. In the proportion that we understand spiritual reality — perfect God and His perfect reflection, man — we demonstrate our dominion over discord.

Who or what is our enemy? Are the trials that confront us enemies? Mary Baker Eddy, the Discoverer and Founder of Christian Science, writes: "Simply count your enemy to be that which defiles, defaces, and dethrones the Christ-image that you should reflect. Whatever purifies, sanctifies, and consecrates human life, is not an enemy, however much we suffer in the process."†

At one time in my life, I looked upon financial difficulty as an enemy. I was in business for myself and, no matter how hard I tried, I had to struggle each month to meet all my financial responsibilities. I spent a lot of time worrying about them and simply hoping that somehow things would change.

After several months of this, I sat down and humbly turned to God, our ever-present Father. As I prayed for more understanding of Him and of my own true selfhood as His child, I began to see that my difficulties were no part of the bountiful good God continually supplied to all, and I refused any longer to accept lack as true for myself or for anyone else. I prayed deeply to know that God, good, was always governing my life, that He will alone could be done.

This sincere prayer calmed my thought and helped me to clear from it the strong belief in a power that could add to or take away from the good God who was actually and continually pouring out to me. I had only to

recognize it. Soon after, I took a part-time job that met all my immediate needs and left me with enough time to fulfill the obligations of my other work. But I had had to lift my thought before I could see this was the right thing to do.

So my so-called enemy was vanquished, and what had it been really? Only my fear that evil had power, that good isn't always present — and the thought that I was unable to turn to God for a solution. As I overcame these beliefs in my thought, they vanished. This growing period left me with a deeper dedication to learn more of God and to rely on Him. It is this spiritual awakening, our consciousness of our inseparable unity with God, that is our complete protection.

*Genesis 1:28; **John 5:19,30; †Miscellaneous Writings, p. 8.

A deeply Christian way of healing

The Bible speaks of the great love and compassion that moved Jesus when he healed. In his ministry he turned the thought of those seeking healing to a fuller understanding of God's love and goodness.

In a deep, prayerful search of the Bible, Mary Baker Eddy discovered that Jesus' teaching and healing were scientific. She learned that health, freedom, and abundance are the natural and provable effects of God's overflowing goodwill for His children.

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OPINION AND...

Melvin Maddocks

Writers of the purple sage

Zane Grey was a New York dentist when, in 1904, he wrote the first of the 89 westerns that were to make him touch-typing king of the Riders of the Purple Sage. Max ("Destry Rides Again") Brand could turn out 14 pages an hour and needed 13 pen names to cover his tracks. But when his publishers sent him to El Paso to absorb a bit of the Old West firsthand, he so detested the local color he locked himself in his hotel room and read Sophocles.

Some Wild Bills of the bucking space-bar! "Write about what you know," eh?

But wait. The current top hand of the western novel is a splendidly leather-slapping exception. Louis L'Amour was born in North Dakota and worked as a ranch hand (as well as a longshoreman, merchant seaman, and professional boxer). Furthermore, he can cite a great-grandfather who was scalped by the Sioux.

How authentic, to use one of Mr. L'Amour's favorite words, can a western writer get?

Those who still believe the best sellers are the titles they see on the New York Times list should now be disabused. Here are the statistics that make everything very O.K. in Mr. L'Amour's corral:

As of the moment, he has written 89 books. With the publication of "The Man from the Broken Hills" this month the number of copies of L'Amour paperbacks in print totals 42 million, leaving poor Zane Grey — and just about everybody else — almost 20 million sales behind.

Westerns and cookbooks — this is where the best sellers are: home, home on the range.

"The Man from the Broken Hills" nicely displays the L'Amour virtues. There are mouth-watering wood-smoke and bacon breakfasts. (The western as cookbook?) Instructive little lessons in the trade are authoritatively delivered — for instance, on how not to rope a steer. And the plot gallops along almost as fast as the mysterious varmint who is rustling everybody's cattle. The hero is classic Gary Cooper — never starting a fight but (you can just bet) never backing away from one either. "Is this what you're going to do the rest of your life?" somebody asks him. "Just ride up and down the country?"

Yup.

Well, not exactly. Actually Our Hero is a bit of gourmet, and the Major-with-the-pretty-daughter tells him: "You're a gentleman, sir. I don't care what your job is, you're a gentleman."

This is dangerous talk in a western and brings us back to Mr. L'Amour in person, who will tuck in his red shirt, hitch up his Indian string-tie, look you straight in the eye, partner, and tell you that his favorite authors include Guy Maupassant, Maxim Gorky, and Trollope.

In addition, Mr. L'Amour thinks of himself as a "frontier writer" or even a historian rather than a western novelist. He has collected a library almost as extensive on the Far East as on the Old West. He is

descended, he is proud to say, from Francois Rene, Vicomte de Chateaubriand, a Frenchman noted for his epigrammatic terseness who couldn't have written 89 books if he had lived to be 150.

John Wayne played L'Amour hero in "Hondo," and if anybody ever plays John Wayne, it ought to be Mr. L'Amour. Squaring his formidable jaw, he is given to saying things like: "Wild Bill Hickok would have been at home in Elizabethan England, just as Walter Raleigh would have been at home in Homer's Greece." And: "A hero is a brave man who gets caught doing what brave men do all the time."

When he is in this Franco-American-philosopher mood, Mr. L'Amour threatens to write a history of trade, travel, and "cultural diffusion" before the year 1500, which, we guarantee, will not sell a million copies — even if he gives away free lariat — and may discomfit his fans to the point where they will cry in L'Amour's own words: "I feel like a mossy-horn steer with a storm coming up."

What can be done about reformed western writers? Is Mr. L'Amour going the effete eastern-intellectual route of Zane and Max?

Not to worry. Just when "cultural diffusion" seems to be in the saddle and riding "The Man from the Broken Hills," Mr. L'Amour gets a grip on himself and writes: "A longhorn doesn't care much whether you know who Beethoven was."

Golly, we can hear John Wayne saying that now.

America's perilous missile strategy

By Herbert Scoville Jr.

When his "counterforce" strategic policy came under fire in the Congress, Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger claimed the Russians had nothing to fear since they had "a capability to launch their strategic force on warning of an impending attack."

This tactic, known as "launch on warning," would place ICBMs (intercontinental ballistic missiles) on a hair-trigger alert so that they could be launched in the interval between the firing of a hostile counterforce attack (an attack of one country's ICBMs against those of the other) and the arrival of the warhead at the targeted silo. It takes 30 to 40 minutes for an ICBM to travel between Russian and American sites, and radars or satellite infrared systems can provide at least 20 minutes' warning that an attack is under way. With modern technology, defending missiles could easily be launched during that 20-minute period so that the attacking warheads would only be destroying empty silos. A counterforce strike thus becomes an empty strategy. "Launch on warning" would appear an ideal tactic were it not for other fatal flaws.

Strategic missiles, unlike bombers, cannot be recalled or destroyed once they have been launched. Yet each packs the punch of many Hiroshima bombs—the Minuteman III ICBM carrying three warheads aimed at separate preordained targets and the Poseidon missile carrying ten warheads. Thus, a single missile is capable of destroying three to ten cities and of killing millions of people.

Furthermore, the military are strongly opposed to placing any mechanism in the missile so that it can be destroyed or aborted in flight. They fear that this would make it vulnerable to countermeasures and provide the enemy a self-installed ABM (anti-ballistic missile) system.

Therefore to reduce the chance of calamitous accident, extraordinary measures are taken to ensure that no missile will be inadvertently fired without authorization. The United States has adopted light command and control procedures, which require authorization from the President, and positive action by at least three independent persons to launch any ICBM. Our deterrent forces are

designed to survive an attack so as not to have to be fired hastily. Fail-safe mechanisms are installed on all launch systems to ensure against an accident which could unleash such catastrophic destruction.

We have no specific knowledge of Russian procedures to prevent accidental launches, but there are strong indications of their understanding of the hazards involved and their interest in avoiding such an occurrence. They have exercised even greater control than we over people with access to nuclear weapons; in 1971 they negotiated several agreements with the United States to provide safeguards against accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons. Furthermore, all their land-based ICBMs have been deployed in costly, hardened silos to increase their probability of survival in the event of an attack and avoid the need of rapid launch on warning.

Apparently, Mr. Schlesinger feels that improving U.S. ability to knock out Soviet ICBM silos overrides the substantially increased chance that millions of Americans will be incinerated in an accidental nuclear strike.

Actually, the Secretary was providing telling support for what critics of his counterforce policy have long been warning — that it cannot risk the acquisition of a more effective anti-silo capability, which could push the Soviet Union toward a "launch on warning" posture. Putting the Soviet ICBMs on hair-trigger alert is even more risky for us than for them.

To make matters worse, Mr. Schlesinger has threatened to launch strategic nuclear weapons in a "selective" strike at military targets in the Soviet Union in response to aggression with conventional weapons in Europe. If the Russians follow Schlesinger's advice and "launch on warning," the selective strike will hit only empty silos while Soviet warheads may be killing millions of Americans. It is time for the Secretary to contemplate the implications of his own programs, and recognize that they are seriously increasing the risk of a nuclear catastrophe.

Mr. Scoville is former Assistant Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and Deputy Director of the CIA.

Charles W. Yost

Washington With Henry Kissinger's return from another summit meeting in Peking, it may be timely to review current United States policies elsewhere in East Asia, which affect and are affected by whatever happens between the U.S. and China.

The paramount U.S. relationship in East Asia remains, as it has been since World War II, that with Japan. The vitality of that relationship has just been demonstrated again by the visit of the Emperor to the United States.

But there continues to be some ambiguity and ambivalence in Japanese minds as well as our own, about the role Japan should play in East Asia and in the world. It arises in regard to Japan's political and military role. After the catastrophe of 1941-45 she has preferred to keep, in these respects, a much lower profile than either her economic power or her strategic position would warrant. She is probably wise to do so.

Some Americans have urged that Japan expand its modest and entirely defensive military forces. These voices are likely to be more often heard as the U.S. military pres-

ence in Japan declines, as a result of congressional pressure for retrenchment and Japanese pressure for a less visible and intrusive American establishment there. The U.S. should, recalling history, steadfastly resist the temptation to urge the Japanese to militarize any more than they wish to do.

More controversial are questions which arise in regard to the U.S. presence in Korea. The security interest is clear. An invasion of the South by the North would be a direct threat to Japan and almost as destabilizing in the area and globally as was the invasion of 1950. Fortunately a repeat seems improbable. It would not be in the interest either of China or the Soviet Union for such a crazy adventure to occur, and it seems unlikely that even Kim Il-Sung would undertake it against the will of both his big brothers.

Nevertheless, it would give the wrong "signal" if the U.S. even thought of withdrawing its defense troops or withdrawing its 40,000 troops suddenly or immediately. South Korea is rapidly becoming, and wishes to become, more self-reliant militarily as she has successfully become self-reliant economically. At present there seems no reason why

she should not be able to defend herself, with United States weapons, in three or four years.

Many Americans question our whole relationship with Korea because of the authoritarian character of its government. The U.S. cannot expect most of its friends in developing countries, who have little or no experience with representative institutions, suddenly to blossom into American-style democracies. This is particularly true of those adjacent to aggressive neighbors.

On the other hand, one may wonder whether President Park is strengthening or weakening his domestic position by the repressive policies of recent years. There can be no question that it is not helping his international reputation. The U.S. Government would probably be revealing both U.S. and Korean interests if it continued, not its defense commitment, but the extent of some of its current support on a repressive regime by Park of "a decent and free society."

The Southeast Asian pillar of the U.S. position is still shaky, which is not surprising after the debacle only six months ago.

The Thais have requested the withdrawal of U.S. military forces by next March and apparently all or practically all will be pulled that time. On the other hand, the commitment to the defense of Thailand embodied in the Manila Pact of 1954 remains, as does our long-standing friendship and our economic ties. Nevertheless, the Thais are wisely seeking reassurance by closer relations with China against possible excessive ambitions of a victorious Vietnam.

With the Philippines the U.S. has even more explicit defense commitments, as well as a regionally significant military base at Subic Bay, which the Philippine Government does not appear to wish to remove. The U.S. can therefore judge for itself for what purpose and for how long a base at that location serves its interests. This may depend, in part at least, upon how much strength and independence from all great powers the Southeast Asian regional association is able to develop.

The author of this article writes from a background of 40 years as a United States diplomat.

COMMENTARY

Australia: who controls the purse strings?

By Denis Warner

Melbourne

What happens to a country when the money runs out?

Australians, it seems, may know quite soon. A bid by the Liberal-National Country Party opposition in the Senate to force a double dissolution of Parliament and a general election by refusing to pass the money bills has led to the most extraordinary political crisis in the country's history.

With its supply of money running out, the government refuses to call a general election. It is doggedly holding out in the assumption that whatever political advantages the Opposition may once have held will be demolished by the angry electorate when the public services grind to a halt some time in November.

The Opposition, now held captive by its opening initiative, cannot retreat without giving great advantage to the government. It wants to destroy, and politics have taken on the characteristics of guerrilla war.

Enmeshed in the House of Representatives, Gough Whitlam, the Prime Minister, has been fighting constitutionally, politically and psychologically. At the time of writing, he is winning on all fronts.

When Opposition leader Malcolm Fraser launched the Senate into attack, the government's position had never seemed weaker. The worst unemployment since the depression in the 1930's, inflation chasing 20 percent and some extraordinary undercover loans-dealing — involving \$5 billion — had destroyed its credibility with the public. The polls were unanimous that it would be thrown out in a landslide if Mr. Fraser could force a general election.

Mr. Fraser had protested consistently that he felt a government should be allowed to run its full, 3-year term of office unless extraordinary and reprehensible circumstances arose. He now considered the circumstances extraordinary and reprehensible enough to announce that the Opposition in the Senate would defer the money bills when they came up for debate.

Conventionally, Mr. Whitlam would have accepted that without money he could not govern and off he would have gone to the governor-general to inform him and to ask him to call a general election, which he was sure to lose.

Mr. Whitlam elected to be unconventional.

When the Senate rejected his money bills, Mr. Whitlam sent them back instead of calling on the governor-general.

Mr. Fraser had been led to believe by his advisers that in circumstances like these the governor-general would withdraw Mr. Whitlam's commission. He did not. And if Mr. Whitlam had not won the constitutional war, the initial battle was certainly his.

Politically, he also regained the absolute initiative. The unheralded appearance, almost like a genie spirited out of a lamp, of Mr. Tirath Khemlani, the Pakistani commodities dealer with whom Mr. Rex Connor, the third-ranking member of the Whitlam government, had been conducting his \$5 billion loans deal, had been a shattering blow.

Mr. Khemlani's briefcases were bulging with incriminating telex messages, which he was happy to disclose. He was also more than willing to talk, and Mr. Whitlam had no choice other than to ask Mr. Connor to resign from the Cabinet.

But now suddenly the loans affair was forgotten as government ministers listed the horrors that were to come when the government ran out of money. The armed forces

would have to be disbanded and sent home, it was said. Civil servants would carry on for a time while they could get some credit. Then they would be forced to stop. The police in Canberra would be off the streets. Tertiary education students would find their allowances cut off. Aboriginal children would die. The reconstruction of Darwin, destroyed last year in a typhoon, would come to an end.

Ultimately, Australia would grind to a halt. There would be violence in the streets, and bloodshed.

All of this may yet prove to be true, but true or false, it was psychologically devastating. Newspapers that only days before could not wait to see the government voted out of office now demanded that the Senate's power to delay or reject the nation's money bills should be formally ended. Not the government but the opposition was now under siege.

No quarter was asked for or offered, and Australians, wondering where it would all end, knew only that parliamentary democracy had been an early casualty.

Denis Warner is a veteran analyst of the Australian scene.

A voice from Lebanon

By Ghassan Rubelz

Beirut

As a Lebanese I have been watching the development of my country over the years with growing anxiety. I have anticipated civil outbreak for a long time.

Lebanese society has had all the elements for an explosion: I am surprised that it has survived so long while maintaining a reasonable balance. The nation has had a line of autocratic and controversial presidents, a political system tainted with corruption, a religious structure that dabbles in politics, an army rendered ineffective by its sectarian base, a citizenry whose religious identity often comes before patriotic feeling, a delicate geographical position bordering on Syria and Israel — and, last but not least, a complex of rival economic and ethnic groups.

Lebanon established independence in 1943. It has three million residents, 300,000 of whom are Palestinians. It is the only Arab country which is strongly Westernized with a Christian head of state. The Prime Minister is always a Muslim, but he is much less powerful by tradition than the President.

Can peace be kept in Lebanon? The difficulties are obvious. There is a large lower class of which the majority are Muslims. Every

second citizen is armed. Every major ethnic group has its own "army," the Palestinian militia is perhaps the strongest, though in recent troubles it has been restrained. Christians are a minority but tend to assume majority airs.

The country fell apart six months ago rather suddenly. Four rounds of battles have occurred since, taking 4,000 lives and injuring perhaps 6,000. For the latest round five separate cease-fire agreements were undertaken before an uneasy truce was achieved. Now there is a committee of reconciliation: a 20-man group of 10 Christians and 10 Muslims, charged with seeking a permanent peace formula.

Will it succeed? It is difficult to be optimistic for a number of reasons. First, the membership of the committee does not inspire confidence. The clashing views represented exemplify the very reason for turmoil in the country. Second, the bloodbath that preceded the cease-fire left basic problems unsolved; no new principles for solving the problem appear.

Third, the absence of a respected government and of an effective army makes continued clashes likely. A respected government does not come easily in a land of ethnic rivalry

where the leadership is already felt by many to be corroded.

Fourth, there is a growing feeling that Lebanon is the toy of outside powers: Israel, the United States, certain Arab governments (particularly Syria) and organizations of Palestinians are rival participants. It is thought that keeping Lebanon in chaos might even be a device to distract the Palestinians and the Syrians from their most pressing issue, the Egyptian-Israeli agreement, an agreement many feel is catastrophic to the Arabs. In any event, international politics are likely to make it more difficult for the Lebanese to solve their own problems.

Solutions? Resignation of President Franjeh is a common topic of discussion. Events have tended to discredit him and enemies charge that he is politically corrupt. This is perhaps one gain from the internal war — for the first time the association of national turmoil and the inept government is widespread and explicit. Its implications may be limited, however, for there are few leaders who inspire national confidence. Lebanese politics needs new faces.

Another solution is a coup d'etat. This is an underground idea, but the crisis is such that

undoubtedly it is the dream of many Lebanese. Dreams can be escapist rather than problem solving, however. This part of the world has known many political revolutions which brought nothing but more revolutions. The designer of a Lebanese coup would have to be both charismatic and extremely lucky. Lebanon does not have any national figure of heroic stature. We pray for such a figure and hope that if he appears his own prayer will be for the welfare of the people.

A third possible path is for long-range political reform. President Franjeh will have to quit in less than a year in any case when his constitutional single term expires. There is a new election of the legislature this spring. There is the chance that the new parliament will bring new leadership, constitutional reforms, and an inspiring president.

Such a hope is probably overoptimistic. The best diagnosis has to be skeptical.

Dr. Rubelz is a native Lebanese who received a PhD from Washington University in St. Louis and teaches social work at Beirut University College. He is a Christian.

Erwin D. Canham

The balance-of-power game

Possibly one of the most awesome questions in the world is what would happen if the People's Republic of China and the Soviet Union were to compose their differences and resume what we used to call the Communist bloc.

That they are not now likely to do so was emphatically illustrated the other day when Chairman Mao Tse-tung received and talked for an hour and a half with Secretary of State Kissinger in Peking. This dramatic sign of Chinese Communist interest in improving relations with the United States — and thus, no doubt, of seeking to alarm the Soviets — suggests that the balance-of-power game the United States is playing between the two Communist giants continues to work.

Such diplomacy is difficult and dangerous. From the point of view of the United States it makes sense. To be on speaking terms with Moscow and Peking is useful. It is right. Some day it might make the difference between war and peace.

Certainly the United States should never assume that it has ironclad guarantees of any sort from the Communist governments. Nothing can be taken for granted. But everything ought to be possible to talk about.

But the success of the balance-of-power

game depends, it would seem, upon the mutual hostility of the Communist governments. That is one of 20th-century history's great anomalies. If Moscow and Peking were again to get together, their combined power would loom menacingly over the world. Their fears of one another are based on direct border rivalry in Central Asia and along the Manchuria-Siberia frontier, and on the less tangible fact that in a totalitarian system there cannot be two top dogs. One nation will be the world's Communist leader, not two. There are marked ideological conflicts between the two which reflect themselves in policy. China's concern over its powerful Soviet neighbor does not seem to abate.

Some day all this might change. There will be a new generation of leaders in both Peking and Moscow before many years. The new men might well bury the differences of the old.

And then the world balance of power would be greatly altered. Soviet pressures in Central Europe, the Mediterranean, or the Middle East might intensify if Moscow were no longer fearful of power on its eastern flank. The People's Republic might move at once to regain Taiwan, or to unify Korea under Communist rule, if it did not distrust Moscow. Japan's position might become endangered.

along with the variously unstable nations of Southeast Asia. The United States would find its allies or friends in Europe and Asia in very serious quandaries. The world situation would be palpably dangerous.

Fortunately, none of this is happening, or shows signs of it.

The People's Republic manifestly welcomes the continuing American presence in East Asia, and is willing to pay the price of banding off Taiwan, which from its point of view is a high price. Moscow seeks its goals in Europe and the Middle East with considerable restraint. The danger of conflict is minimized. But this edifice of relative stability depends on fear: fear between two Communist powers.

If some day this fear should be removed, are we preparing now the elements which could keep the peace? In Europe, better relations between West Germany and its eastern brother and with the Communist border states have been worked out. Continuous efforts to achieve a stable peace in the Middle East go on.

It is a troubled world and it does not help to imagine scenarios of new trouble. Fundamentally, peace benefits all. This awareness, implemented, is something with which to work.

Readers write

The klan

I am writing in response to Ed Townsend's article "Coal Miners Fight Frictions Stirred by Ku Klux Klan." In general, what Mr. Townsend fails to perceive is the historic impact of the Klan in the West Virginia-Kentucky area, and its continued legacy of threat and intimidation. The question of Klan "support" and "opposition" is a complex one. But it is patently obvious from events this past summer that the Klan was unable to muster any level of general support, contrary to Mr. Townsend's perceptions.

This summer in Charleston, West Va., a rally co-sponsored and supported by the Klan was held in a large downtown auditorium. The rally attracted only a handful of people — who sat amidst the empty seats — clearly an embarrassing loss to the rally organizers. A Klan picnic publicized in the Charleston area and held in Cedar Grove, attracted all of 30 people! And a Klan rally in Harlan, Kentucky, held this summer was met, a few weeks later, by an anti-Klan rally. I'm not sure what Mr. Townsend means by "large turnout," but in the coalfields, where the miners believe in an issue, thousands are involved!

Montgomery, W. Va. Lynne Ann Ewen